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THE EAST AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY.

THE report of the debate in the House of Commons on June 30, on the East African Slave-trade—if debate it can be called, for Mr. Whalley was the only dissentient, and he answered himself—had a conclusion which must prove useful, and may speedily lead to satisfactory results. The iniquity, the atrocities, the disgracefulness of this trade, were urged from both sides of the House, and endorsed by the Government. To Mr. Gilpin, the excellent member for Northampton, to the Hon. A. F. Kinnaird, to Mr. Robert N. Fowler, and to Mr. Russell Gurney, most cordial thanks are due, for the thoroughness of principle which marked their addresses. In this Mr. Gilpin happily led the way; and Lord Enfield,

on the part of the Government in general and the Foreign Office in particular, clearly pledged himself to a thorough inquiry into the whole matter; that the Government would give its best assistance to make it thorough, and would take subsequent action in accordance with its developments and conclusions.

Lord Enfield quoted the report of a Committee on the East African Slave-trade, addressed to the late Earl of Clarendon, dated Jan. 24, 1870, referring to “a legal and an illegal Slave-trade” on that coast; and calling attention briefly to six suggestions, whereby, if adopted, the Illegal Slave-trade, it was hoped, might be put an end to, and the legal export of slaves might become reduced, and ultimately abolished.

It is of importance to summarise the

main statements of this report, to which those suggestions relate.

By our treaties with the Sultan of Zanzibar he is allowed, authorised, with British protection and guarantees, to transport slaves from port to port between Quiloa or Kilwa, 150 miles south of Zanzibar, and Lamoo to the north, a distance of over 350 miles, from May 1 to December 31 each year. The slaves are obtained from the interior of Africa; the slave-traders sometimes incite and sometimes help the natives of one tribe to make war upon the other; their assistance almost invariably secures victory to the side which they support, and the captives become theirs "by right or by purchase"—the price in the latter case being only a few yards of cotton cloth. The wholesale destruction of the inhabitants; the depopulation of the countries; the horrors of the journey to the coast, are fearful; and many are murdered or left to die on the road. From the period between 1862-63 and 1866-67, 97,203 slaves, for the legal traffic, passed through the custom-house at Quiloa, the principal port for exporting slaves on the mainland. On each of these slaves the Sultan of Zanzibar levies a tax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ dols., and an additional tax of 2 dols. is paid on every slave landed at Zanzibar—so that the Sultan derives a sum of about £20,000 a year from this source. The exports are, however, large from other places on the coast. Still not one in five captured in the interior, in some cases not one in ten, ever reach the coast alive, and become slaves.

Add to this the numbers who perish in war, and the numbers of the aged, the young, and others (bereft of their natural protectors) who die of starvation, and the facts—temporally and religiously considered—are frightful beyond calculation. By the illegal slave-trade, 10,000 or 11,000 are annually shipped for the slave-markets in the north. In addition to these, others are taken to Madagascar and the Comoro Islands; and others are landed in dribs and drabs on the north-west coast, between Cape Amber and Cape St. Andrew. We have a squadron to prevent the "illegal" traffic—it is all fearfully immoral—but not more than seven per cent, of the numbers exported are annually captured by our squadron.

Now, although the Sultan of Zanzibar prohibits the sale of slaves to the Northern Arabs, the decree is evaded by these lawless and daring slave-traders and men-stealers, for they are computed to steal 2,000 slaves annually from the little island of Zanzibar alone; and these and others are clandestinely stripped and borne away by these fiends in human form.

This has gone on from year to year, and

is going on at this moment, under treaties to which Great Britain is a party. Others are accomplices in these fearful crimes and cruelties, viz. Persia, Madagascar, Muscat, and various independent States on the coast of Arabia.

The Committee are of opinion that the foreign slave-trade cannot be put down so long as the domestic slave-trade exists. The Sultan has suggested to Her Majesty's Government that if he were relieved of the payment of an annual subsidy to Muscat of about £8,500, he would be in a better position to meet their views with respect to the suppression or limitation of the slave-trade in his dominions; but the Committee think it would not be practicable at once, and without further notice, to prohibit altogether the export of slaves from the mainland, as it would, whilst reducing the Sultan's revenue, tend greatly to weaken his power, and, by rendering him unpopular with his subjects, possibly lead to the loss of his throne, or even of his life; in addition to which, they fear that the important and rapidly-increasing commerce of Zanzibar might be ruined if they were at once deprived of slave-labour.

This is the case put by the Committee; and what do they propose to do with this system—this rank offence to God and man? They propose to regulate the export, so as to bring it under proper supervision and control; and they offer suggestions in accordance with this idea.

It was to meet this state of things that Mr. Gilpin proposed, "That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that she will be graciously pleased to issue instructions for the negotiation of such a treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar as will relieve Her Majesty's Government from existing arrangements, by which they are made parties to the slave-trade; and that she will use all lawful means to procure the entire suppression of the slave-traffic, and all export of slaves, from the East Coast of Africa."

Next to the adoption of this motion by the House, a Committee of Inquiry is very acceptable; and well-selected, as it doubtless will be, their sittings must elicit such an amount of such various kinds of information respecting this atrocious and disgraceful system as must lead to its speedy extinction.

The throne of the Sultan of Zanzibar! Is it necessary, to sustain this that 20,000 or 30,000 slaves should annually be made, and five times that number of lives should be lost, to maintain it? Let a deliberate decision, uttered through the lips of this Commission of Inquiry, speedily and decisively answer the question.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

(From the *Daily News*.)

LORD GRANVILLE has gracefully yielded to the representations of the Anti-Slavery party, by consenting to the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the Zanzibar slave-trade. This much appeared from our report of the discussion which Mr. Charles Gilpin raised on Friday night. We now learn that the Committee will consist of eleven members, nine of whom will, at the instance of the Government, be virtually nominated by Mr. Gilpin. So great a concession might appear extraordinary but for the fact that both the Foreign Office and its not unfriendly critics have exactly the same object in view—the extinction, by the speediest and most effective means, of the slave-trade between the territories of the Sultan of Zanzibar and the ports of Arabia. The present system of repression has notoriously failed; for, as recent Parliamentary papers conclusively demonstrate, at no period of the history of this nefarious commerce have scenes of greater horror taken place than those which are of daily occurrence on the East Coast of Africa. Unfortunately, all the measures for the abolition of the Zanzibar slave-trade have been hitherto based on the recognition of the lawfulness of the traffic during a certain limited period of the year, the Sultan himself being a great slave-trader, and deriving a considerable portion of his revenue from this source. The attention of the Select Committee will doubtless be directed to the means by which Seyed Burgash may be induced to prohibit altogether the sale and exportation of slaves.

(From the *Globe*, June 26th.)

We wish we could welcome, in the correspondence received to-day from the Foreign Office, the beginning of the end of the slave-traffic on the East Coast of Africa. It is, however, evident that this cannot be hoped for from any action of the British Government; for Lord Granville informed Dr. Kirk in March last that the Treasury had decided against any additional expense, as had been proposed, in increasing the staff of the agency at Zanzibar, or the naval force employed in the suppression of the traffic, or in appointing consular agents along the coast to control the traffic within the limits to be regulated by treaty. The new Sultan of Zanzibar shows himself a little more amenable to European advice than the late Sultan Seyed Majid; but there are ominous signs that his professions are not too sincere. Consul Churchill has found it necessary to read His Highness some smart lectures on his treaty obliga-

tions. "We acknowledge the treaties," rejoined Seyed Burgash, "and the letter that you put forward as having been written by our father Seyed Saeed Bin Sultan; but as to the acts of our brother Majid, in putting a stop to the transport of slaves during the monsoon, and the declarations and proclamations issued by him, none of them constitute new treaty engagements, but were simply made with the concurrence of the British Government, and as a safeguard against the kidnapping of his subjects' slaves and their children from Zanzibar and other localities. You wish us to give further orders to our subjects, so that they should stop the transport of slaves during the monsoon; but, please God, it will not be long before Her Majesty's cruisers will be relieved from this trouble, and our subjects from spoliation, for most of them have taken French protection and are now quiet, and we also shall be spared their complaints of the oppression of the British Government towards them." This dispatch, recalcitrant in spirit, scarcely justifies the sanguine hopes entertained by Earl Granville as to the suppression of the slave-trade, notwithstanding Dr. Kirk's subsequent dispatches, which report a marked change in the attitude and bearing of Seyed Burgash towards the British agency, inasmuch as this was clearly the result of Consul Churchill's spirited conduct towards the Sultan. What will be the result upon such a mind of the announcement of the determination of the British Government not to adopt any more stringent measures to check the slave-trade, may be easily imagined, especially when it is remembered how large an amount is produced to the Sultan's revenue by the illicit traffic on the coast of Zanzibar.

(From the *Newcastle Daily Express*.)

In the year of grace 1871 a flourishing slave-trade is carried on between the East Coast of Africa and the Mussulman States of Asia. Recent correspondence on the subject between Her Majesty's representative at Zanzibar and Earl Granville has been published, and out of a mass of half-ridiculous, half-serious matter, we learn that the present Sultan of Zanzibar shows little inclination to acquiesce in his predecessor's relations with the British Government respecting the Slave-trade: in short, he winks at the traffic. Most of His Highness's letters to the Consul are a mass of formal and laughably-worded compliments; and he generally manages to stave off very cleverly any approach to a distinct understanding on matters of dispute between his subjects and the English cruisers. On the other hand, Mr. Churchill, and lately Dr. Kirk, have pretty plainly shown the teeth

of the British lion, of which it may be hoped that Burgash Bin Saeed may have a wholesome dread.

(From the *Pall Mall Gazette*).

THE Colonial Office is sorely puzzled to know what to do with the slaves rescued by our cruisers on the East Coast of Africa. There is no Sierra Leone there, with the double advantage of a British Government and a kindred population, nor is there any place within easy reach where they can escape the risk of being smuggled back into slavery or else dying from starvation. In its embarrassment the Office has lately determined to send the freed slaves to Zanzibar itself, and to give them on landing a printed certificate of freedom, with a right of appeal to the British Consul. Dr. Edward Steere (who knows Zanzibar well) writes to the *Mission Life* in strong terms, observing that "it would be better to abandon all attempts to stop the Slave-trade altogether than to enact such a mockery as this." He draws a picture of the way in which the scheme will work:—

"A large slave dhow has been taken, and the slaves are being brought on shore; there will be 200 or 300 poor naked creatures, with never more than a very little piece of very dirty rag round their middles; at least half of them have some kind of eruption on the skin; all are very much emaciated, a few dozen scarcely able to walk: some suffering from dysentery, and one or two from smallpox. What is to become of them all? The English Consul has no money; but he has plenty of certificates of freedom. He tries to make out a list, and asks their names. There are thirty Mabrukis and five and twenty Sengelos, and so on with the other common slave names. It is simply impossible that any human being should know them all again."

To turn these poor creatures adrift with a bit of paper, of which they neither understand the meaning nor the use, is merely to offer them one of two alternatives—to lie down and die, or to go to the slave market and be sold. Dr. Steere contends that if we do not wish to stultify ourselves, the British Consul should at any rate be empowered to give them a few yards of calico and a few days' shelter and food. If money for these purposes be found, the English and French missions will take on themselves much of the responsibility for the care of these Freedmen, and the internal Slave-trade would receive an immediate check.

SLAVE-TRADE IN THE GULF.

(From the *Friend of India*, May 24.)

If the following information, given by Dr. Kirk, Political Agent and Consul at

Zanzibar, to Captain Tucker, of Her Majesty's steamer *Columbia*, is accurate, and Captain Tucker has acted upon it, as any true sailor would, Her Majesty's steamer *Columbia* is long before this among a nest of the worst of all thieves. Dr. Kirk reports that he had made it his business to obtain the fullest information possible regarding the probable movements of the slave-traders now collecting their cargoes on shore, and had informed Captain Tucker that he anticipated "a large shipment of slaves for Arabia this year, large numbers of slaves having already been taken to Pemba, where they could easily be concealed on shore and shipped from behind the intricate and unsurveyed creeks of that island.

"Almost every dhow," he says, "now going to Pemba smuggles away two or three slaves, at the same time that others are being taken to Pangani and Mambas on the mainland. A few days ago a slave cargo was taken from this island to Pangani; on landing, the slaves were detained by the customs master and the case reported to Zanzibar. While the subject of the slaves landed at Pangani was under consideration, the Arab owner carried them off from the customs agent's hands by force. Syud Burgash at once sent men to seize the Arab and bring him here in irons. Having accumulated slaves at Pemba and the coast towns, the northern Arabs will, in twenty days, or about the 10th of March, begin to move. Therefore Dr. Kirk advised Captain Tucker, after proceeding a short way to the south where he might inspect Quiloa, a thing most desirable, to go north outside the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, making the coast about Lamo, then by sailing south and putting out his boats he would probably intercept the first of the northern slaves. On his return to Zanzibar about the 20th of March he would still be in time to overtake the early slaves from Brava, Magdesho, and Worscheck, as these will not probably be able to get away before the end of the month."

Dr. Kirk and Captain Tucker will do good work if they can catch a few of the rascals engaged in this infamous trade.

NEWS OF DR. LIVINGSTONE.

THE following interesting particulars regarding Dr. Livingstone are contained in letters received on Monday morning from Dr. Kirk by Miss Livingstone, daughter of the celebrated traveller, dated Zanzibar, April 30, 1871:—"I will tell you that by the last news of the Arabs he had gone to a place called Manema, which is on the other side of Tanganyika Lake; but this place

you will not find on any map. At Ujiji he made friends with some Arabs who I hear have been very kind to him, and in their company visited Manema, which is about 200 miles west of the lake, and they must have crossed it in punts or canoes, or what we call dhows. He and his Arab friends got to Manema, and they (the Arabs) made a good business in ivory. I suppose the doctor did what he went for, and will tell us some day what he saw; but on his way back he got—well he seems to have been hard up, as I should have said when out of cash and detained for remittances. Luckily the means were at hand, and the man I sent to Ujiji to help him has sent off all he needs, and there will still be a good store on his return to Ujiji. The expense and loss in getting things so far into a savage land are great, and at a cholera time it was well we got anything up at all, so that he will never receive the whole of what I sent and Mr. — paid for. A second supply has been forwarded, but I shan't be sorry if the doctor passes it on the way. I should say the parcel of clothing and boots was sent off long ago."—*North British Mail*.

EASTERN TRAFFIC IN SLAVES.

THE Turkish authorities have just given another proof of their sincerity in enforcing the laws against the traffic in slaves. On Sunday week, June 4, the Minister of Police received information of six young negroes, in charge of a guardian, being patrolled about certain quarters of Stamboul in a mysterious manner, and, suspecting a transaction in slaves, His Excellency ordered the immediate arrest of the party. This was done, and, interrogated by Husni Pasha, the women stated that twenty-seven negroes had been brought by two slave-dealers from Tripoli, in Barbary, in a Turkish ship, which, on arriving at San Stefano, had cast anchor there, and that the six girls then present were sent to Stamboul to be sold, the others remaining on board to await their turn. Police officers were at once despatched to San Stefano, where the vessel was found as described. She was ostensibly loaded with salt, but in an obscure part of the hold were discovered the twenty-one other negroes in charge of the second slave-dealer. They were thereupon conveyed to Constantinople, and formally declared free by the authorities, and have since been placed out as paid servants with different Mussulman families. The two slave-dealers, meanwhile, together with the captain of the ship, are in prison, awaiting trial, and we trust that they will receive their deserts. This prompt action

on the part of the Minister of Police, entailing the punishment of the offenders, in addition to their heavy pecuniary loss, will no doubt be speedily heard of in Africa, and will serve to deter other Tripoli slave-dealers from their traffic with Constantinople.—*Levant Herald*.

ALARMING NEWS FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

THE correspondent of the *Cape Standard and Mail*, writing from Durban under date of April 7th, furnishes the following alarming intelligence, to which we earnestly call the attention of the Governor, and especially that of our Colonial Office:—

"There is still a great scarcity of labour on the coast plantations. The planters have formed a league to devise means to provide a better and surer supply of labour for the colony. Mr. Ablett, when in Delagoa Bay, Inhambane, and Quillimane, recently, made arrangements with the Portuguese authorities and the native chiefs there to provide Natal with batches of native labourers. I have not heard that the matter has yet been brought before the authorities here."

SLAVERY IN CUBA.

SPAIN, CUBA, AND THE ENGLISH SLAVE-TRADE PAPERS.

THE Blue-books just published on Slavery and the Slave-trade are peculiarly unsatisfactory. In those relating to Spain alone, instead of printing the dispatches in the usual manner, there are no less than fifteen from which extracts only are given. Enough, however, are given to confirm all that the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society has stated as to the extremely unsatisfactory character of Señor Moret's Act of June, 1870.

Consul-General Dunlop, in his dispatch to Earl Granville, dated Nov. 19th, 1870, refers particularly to this decree. He is anxious to give the Government of Madrid credit for good intentions, and expresses his own opinion against uncontrolled liberty in the island.

But upon this decree he significantly remarks that "it ought to have but one tendency, that of putting an end to Slavery." That "the total abolition of Slavery in

Cuba is seen to be slowly approaching. The Slavery party, who are rich and powerful, both here and at Madrid, have had influence enough to throw many obstacles in its way by this decree; for, although the decree itself may present a fair appearance to the uninitiated in Cuban affairs, it virtually prolongs Slavery for twenty years."

THE CHILDREN.

He says that, "by the 7th, 8th, and 9th articles of this decree, the newly-born emancipated slave is virtually condemned to slavery up to the age of 18, when he may emancipate himself by marriage; otherwise he must drag on another four years, during which he is to be on half wages only, and of this miserable pittance one half is reserved to be paid to him on his attaining his 22nd year."

"The boon therefore which the decree confers upon him from his birth is that he shall certainly remain a slave for at least eighteen and probably for twenty-two years, for to all intents and purposes he will be treated precisely as a slave—a fact which is clearly anticipated if we alternatively read articles 10 and 17 which speak of possible prostitution, cruelty, and ill-treatment."

THE ABOLITION OF THE LASH.

The abolition of the use of the lash by article 21 the Consul-General fears will be unheeded, "for whatever complaint the negro may make will be drowned by a timely douceur to the nearest authority."

THE EMANCIPADOS.

"Already we hear of a shameful traffic in emancipados. This unfortunate class, which has been kept in the most abject kind of Slavery for so many years, is declared entirely free by article 5; but by article 13 they are to remain under the control of the State, as far as protecting them, and furnishing them with the means of gaining their livelihood.

"This has been taken advantage of and interpreted as best suits the plans of the Slavery party here.

"The emancipados are being dealt out to the planters and their former masters under contracts for eight years, during which they are to receive 8 dollars a month wages, and are in all other respects to be treated as slaves, the contracts being made to appear as the voluntary act of the emancipado.

"These contracts are made under the supervision of the Government, and cost from 5 to 10 doubloons for each emancipado.

"What may become of the wretched

victim, after this sale, may be easily inferred. The emancipado may be worked till he die, or he may be made to fill the place of a defunct slave, and the same iniquitous system which has been so often exposed will continue."

We learn therefore that "under this law the emancipados, though entitled to liberty under all law, human and divine, are being openly bought and sold into slavery under the very eyes of the Government in Cuba."

The Consul-General takes exception to the mode of dealing with the slaves over 60 years of age, and especially to "the provision under article 16, by which the indemnity mentioned in article 2 is to be met by a tax on those negroes remaining in slavery, as if the unpaid services of the liberated children up to the age of 18 were not sufficient to outweigh that pecuniary obligation."

Whether, therefore, they look at the opinion of the Consul-General as to the case of the children under that decree, as to the emancipados, or the poor objects who have arrived at the age of 60 years, all true friends of freedom must be bitterly disappointed.

The comments of the Consul-General confirm everything the Anti-Slavery Committee has stated as to the impolicy and injustice of this law.

As these victims of oppression are by treaty rights, in a certain unquestionable sense, the wards of the British Government, it is a matter of deep regret that such an Act should have been allowed to pass without a faithful and open protest against it.

It has been not very wisely said, "The law is no doubt bad, but it will do great good."

If legislation of such a character be overruled for good, it can only be by a re-action from the aggravation of the evils it must produce.

It has long been a subject of surprise with foreign nations that the British Government should have allowed its Slave-trade treaties to be systematically violated through a long course of years. This has not been creditable to the British Governments in past times. If some allowance should be made for the present administration, pressed almost beyond precedent during the last twelve months, this scarcely applies to those who represent this country abroad. The great mass of the people of this country are in favour of liberty and justice to all classes of men, and we have no doubt but that if their views had been more faithfully reflected, the cause of liberty would have made more progress, especially in Madrid.

We observe that Mr. Layard, availing himself of the discretion allowed to him

by the British Government, omitted to present the reply of the Anti-Slavery Society to the attack made upon it by Señor Moret; and states, in his dispatch to Earl Granville, that "there is no doubt truth in *some* of the statements of the Anti-Slavery Society." We feel that in these respects Mr. Layard has done injustice to the Society; and we respectfully challenge him to show that *any* of the statements contained in that reply are untrue.

We also observe that Mr. Layard, in his dispatch to Earl Granville, October 24th, 1870, quotes certain passages from the dispatches of Judge Crawford and Judge Dunlop, written eighteen months before, to show that the Cuban or anti-Slavery party in the island is not sincere. It may suffice in answer to say that, to our certain knowledge, it was openly stated in Madrid, so far back as 1864, that many of the principal slaveholders of the Cuban or liberty party were prepared at that time to abolish Slavery, and would be quite content that the island should remain in connection with Spain, provided they might be allowed to enjoy even a measure of personal and religious liberty.

In confirmation of this we may quote the words of Señor Olozaga, addressed to M. Laboulaye in 1867, "To-day we witness in Spain this singular spectacle; it is the colonies which desire emancipation; it is the planters themselves who are of the same mind as the slaves in demanding it, and it is the Central Government which refuses to grant the request."

It is to be regretted that it did not occur to Mr. Layard to quote Judge Crawford from the same Blue-book, where he states what are the objects of the Spanish or pro-Slavery party in Cuba. Judge Crawford's ominous words are—

"Should the insurrection be quelled, the Spaniards will most probably maintain Slavery at all hazards, and a revival of the Slave-trade is not at all unlikely."

We have always objected on principle to a recourse to arms. We do so still. But in a struggle in which one party is fighting for Liberty and the other for Slavery, with the ultimate intention of reviving the Slave-trade, it is impossible we can sympathise with Spain and the Spanish party in Cuba.

THE CUBAN INSURRECTION.

We have a mass of information on this subject, in addition to that contained in the Slave-trade Papers.

Colonel Macias, the accredited Cuban agent, has put forward a deeply interesting statement of facts on behalf of the In-

surrectionists, headed Cuba in Revolution, which is preceded by an ably-written paper from the pen of Mr. F. W. Chesson, Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society.

"The Book of Blood, an authentic Record of the Policy adopted by Modern Spain to put an end to the War of Independence in Cuba (October, 1868, to December, 1870)," contains the names of 1,828 "political persons executed since the commencement of the war"; 2,650 "prisoners captured by the Spaniards, and whose fate has never been made known"; 61 "condemned to death in garrote VII."; 84 "court-martialled by order of the Captain-General as punishable under the decree of Feb. 12th, 1869"; 5 "condemned to hard labour for life in the chain-gang of the penal colony of Cuba; 5 to ten years; 20 to eight years; 1 to six years; and 28 for other terms; 250 transported to Fernando Po on the 21st May, 1869—48 of whom are reported to have died on board ship, or in hospital after landing, on account of bad treatment, exposure, bad food, and want of medicines"; 5 of the 250 being clergymen, 140 married; 91 single, and 14 widowers: 44 names are given of persons "transported to the penal colonies of Africa"; 193 "transported to Spain"; 6 "to Porto Rico"; 60 "to the Penal Colonies of the Island of Pines"; and "171 expelled from their places of residence." These are in addition to those killed on the battlefield, and to those "whose executions have been named in the newspapers."

The compiler adds:—"We have not considered it necessary to present the catalogue of persons whose property has been confiscated; it reaches already the number of 7,000—a thousand of whom are ladies, whose only crime is to be natives of Cuba, and possessed of large properties there." The writer denies the allegations made of atrocities by the revolutionists; and furnishes a proclamation of Count Valmaseda, and extracts from other documents, of a peculiarly sanguinary and atrocious character. Mr. Hamilton Fish, the American Foreign Minister, whom the author quotes, terms the proclamation an "infamous" one; hopes, "in the interest of Christian civilisation and common humanity, that the document is a forgery"; and adds, "If it be indeed genuine, the President instructs me in the most forcible manner, to protest against such mode of warfare."

We have been obligingly furnished by Mr. Fish with a copy of the Correspondence between the United States Foreign Office, General Sickles, and others, ordered to be printed by the Senate, on the subject of the Cuban Insurrection.

This correspondence does great credit to

the wisdom, humanity, and fidelity of the American Government and its Ambassador at Madrid.

The Spanish ex-Minister of Ultramar, Señor Moret, was exceedingly angry with us for urging his Government to take prompt and effective action to emancipate the slaves; now he has gone out of that office, and is Minister of Finance. Our own Government were strong in their expressions of hopefulness as to speedy results; but Señor Ayala, the present Colonial Minister, has not at all produced an impression that he is an anti-slavery man; and in a recent sitting of the Spanish Cortes "the Ultramarine problem" was under discussion. The accomplished and patriotic Labra spoke. Señor Ayala expressed admiration of Labra, within certain limits; but avoided committing himself to—nay, even mentioning—complete emancipation, to which a number of his colleagues are distinctly pledged before Spain and before the world.

Señor Ayala did intimate that none amongst them defended Slavery; but he also added, that "the various Ministers, since the Cuban Insurrection broke out, had had valour and patriotism enough to spare more than 50,000 soldiers and send them to Cuba to combat the enemies of Spain," and that "some of those soldiers on embarking had to pass through the very balls of home insurgents."

This is a terrible concession. But for those 50,000 Spanish soldiers fighting—or the remnant fighting—to maintain Slavery in Cuba, at this hour there would not have been now a slave in the Queen of the Antilles. Two-thirds of the island are still in the hands of the insurgents; the sea-board and the cities are in the hands of the Spanish party; and nearly all the slaves are free according to clear, admitted, undeniable Treaty rights.

We are happy to state that within a few days the whole matter will be brought before our House of Commons by Thomas Hughes, Esq., who will, we trust, place Cuban slavery—the atrocities of the war which still rages there, and the duties especially of Great Britain and America in relation thereto—in such a clear, strong light that the moral influence of both may be brought to bear to induce Spain to sell Cuba to the Cubans; or, if Spain will not do that, at any rate to give freedom to the slaves without delay.

We repeat: two-thirds of the island are in the hands of the Cuban or liberal party—the sea-board and cities are in the hands of the Spanish or pro-slavery party; both parties are in a state of insubordination to Spain.

SLAVERY IN CUBA, &c.

THE following is a copy of a form of petition, which, we are credibly informed, is likely to receive 500,000 signatures. We cheerfully give it insertion in our columns:—

"PETITION TO THE CORTES.

"Those who subscribe, Spanish citizens, with the greatest respect appeal to the Cortes, setting forth:—

"That when Spain, tired of suffering the tyranny of a handful of evil men, rose in arms and expelled from its soil the dynasty of the Bourbons which sustained them, the Revolutionary Juntas, many Corporations, and many thousands of citizens, asked, as the logical consequence of the Revolution, that the IMMEDIATE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY should be decreed.

"That the Revolutionary Juntas of Madrid, in the moments when it exercised the supreme government of the nation, declared in an important accord, published in the official *Gazette*, that Slavery was an affront to humanity, and a disgrace to the nation tolerating and sustaining it, and that the Cortes Constituyentes ought to blot out this stain from our history.

"That in public Juntas, and by the immense majority of the press, the Government has been unceasingly asked to fulfil the national will, which wishes, and has asked by all the means of a free people can dispose of, the IMMEDIATE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

"That, listening to public opinion, and obeying his conscience, his personal compromises, and the school to which he belongs, His Excellency Señor Don Sigismundo Moret, when Minister of Ultramar, in the Constituent period, gave an Abolition Law, said to be preparatory, and promised solemnly that the new Legislature should present a complete plan for the realisation of the ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

"That the time has arrived which the Government fixed by the mouth of its Minister of Ultramar to present the said Abolition scheme; and, although it is true that the portfolio of the Antilles is now in the hands of another, it is no less true that the present Cabinet is made up of nearly all the individuals who constituted it when it entered into the solemn compromise to present a plan of Abolition in the present Legislature, and it is therefore asked to fulfil that solemn promise made to the Spanish nation and to the civilised world.

"That if Governments have a right to require respect and submission to the laws from the citizens, the citizens on their part have also a right to desire from those who govern, that they should fulfil their promises, setting an example of respect to

their compromises, and to compacts they made with public opinion, all the more when this is manifested pacifically and constitutionally.

"For these reasons, those who subscribe, "Supplicate the Cortes, that without loss of time they comply with the solemn promise of the Government, by presenting for discussion in the present Legislature a complete plan for the Abolition of Slavery in the Island of Cuba and Porto Rico as offered to the nation by the mouth of His Excellency Señor D. Sigismundo Moret.

"Madrid, June, 1871."

SLAVERY IN BRAZIL.

THE NEW BILL.

At the opening of the session of the Brazilian Chambers, on the 3rd May, by the Emperor in person, he made use of the following language in relation to the subject named at the head of this article :— "Considerations of the highest importance counsel that reform of the legislation upon the servile state should not continue to be an indefinite and vague national aspiration. It is time to resolve this question ; and your enlightened prudence will enable you to conciliate regard to existing property, with the social amelioration required by our civilisation, and even by the interest of the owners."

On the 12th May, the Minister of Agriculture introduced "The Slave Bill" into the Chamber of Deputies. It is exceedingly elaborate, involved, contradictory, and would be difficult, if not impossible, of application. To the bulk of existing slaves it confirms their bondage until death ; to all born after the bill may become law it gives freedom in ordinary cases, with twenty-one years, and probably thirty years, of bondage. A Brazilian journal winds up a singular article to the following climax :—"Looking to the effects of the provisions of the bill, and to the bent of private benevolence, we feel assured that on the dawn of the twentieth century not a single slave will tread on the soil of free Brazil." The bill, moreover, makes no special provision for the education of children.

The bill consists of ten articles. The following is a summary of the measure :—

- All children born of slave mothers since the date of this law shall be free ; but shall remain in the power and under the authority of the owners of their mothers, who shall rear and take care of them until eight years of age, when the owner of the mother will have the option, either to receive from the State 800

dollars as indemnification, or have the minor's services until he completes the age of twenty-one years. In the first case, the Government shall receive and dispose of the minor in conformity with the present law ; the pecuniary indemnity to be paid in bonds bearing interest at 6 per cent. per annum, which shall be held extinct at the end of thirty years. A minor may redeem himself, or another person may redeem him, at a valuation. The owner to rear and care for the children which the daughters of slaves may bear while serving him : such obligation to cease with the mother's period of service. Should these die within the term, their children may be placed at the disposal of the Government. If a slave woman obtain freedom, those of her children under eight years of age, who are in the power of the owner by virtue of section 1, shall be given up to her independently of indemnification, unless she prefer to leave them, and the master agree to keep them. In case of alienation of a slave woman, her free children under twelve years shall go with her, and her new owner shall be surrogated in the rights and obligations of the former one. If it be declared by a judicial sentence that owners of mothers inflict excessive punishment, or fail properly to rear and take care of them, the apprenticeship of children born free shall cease before the time fixed. Masters' rights may be transferred in cases of necessary succession, and the child of the slave shall render service to the person to whom the said slave woman shall fall in the division.

Art. 2. The Government may deliver to associations authorised by it whatever children born of slaves since this law may be abandoned by, or may be legally withdrawn from, owners of slaves. The said associations to have the gratuitous services of minors up to twenty-one years of age, and may assign such services ; but shall be bound to rear and take care of such minors ; to form for each of them a peculium, consisting of a portion of wages reserved for this purpose by statute ; to obtain suitable employment for them at the end of their service—such associations to be subject to inspection. This provision to be applicable to approved Foundling Houses and approved persons—the right being reserved to the Government of placing the said minors in public establishments, the slave taking the obligations imposed by section 1 on the authorised associations.

Art. 3. As many slaves shall be freed annually in every province of the empire as will correspond to the quota annually coming to it from the fund intended for emancipation ; such fund to be formed with the tax on slaves ; the imperial tax on the transmission of the property of slaves ; the produce of six lotteries annually exempt from taxation, and the tenth part of all conceded henceforth for drawing the capital of the empire ; the fines imposed by virtue of this law ; sums voted in the imperial, provincial, and municipal estimates ; subscriptions, donations, and legacies for the purpose ; and such sums as above named, with local destination, shall be applied in localities designated.

Art. 4. Every slave has the right to the peculium derived from his labour, savings, donations, legacies, and inheritances falling to him—the government to provide for the placing and security of the same. On the death of a slave his peculium passes to ascendants and descendants in the hereditary line established by law; failing these, to the spouse; in default of both, to the emancipation fund treated of in article 3. In the case of a slave, who may obtain the means of indemnifying his owner, he shall have a right to liberation. If owner and slave cannot agree, arbitration shall decide indemnification. In judicial sales or inventories the price of liberation shall be that of valuation. The contract for rendering future service, for obtaining liberty by the slave, is dependent on the approval of the Orphan Judge, and may not exceed seven years. Any slave belonging to joint owners, if freed by one of them, shall have right to his liberation on indemnifying the other owners for their quota. This indemnification may be paid with services rendered for a term of not more than seven years, in conformity with the preceding sentence. Should a slave not fulfil his contract, by rendering service during a term of years, he may be forced to fulfil it by labour in public establishments, or by contracts of hire with private persons. All liberations, whether gratuitous or otherwise, shall be exempt from any tax, fee, or expense. In any case of alienation or transmission of slaves, under penalty of nullity, it is forbidden to separate spouses, or children under twelve years of age from their father or mother. In a division of chattels between heirs or partners, if no one of them proffers to keep the family under his dominion, replacing the quota-part of the others interested, the family shall be sold, and its produce divided.

Ord. Book iv. title 63, is hereby derogated in the part which revokes liberations because of ingratitude.

Art. 5. Emancipations already organised, and those hereafter formed, shall be subject to the inspection of the Orphan Judge; only the said societies shall have a lien on the slaves liberated by them, in indemnification of the price of purchase.

Art. 6. The following slaves are declared free:—The slaves of the nation—to whom the government may give whatever employment it thinks proper. The slaves given in usufruct to the Crown. The slaves of the regular orders, within seven years, by agreement of the government with the said religious orders. Slaves of unclaimed heritages. A slave saving the life of his owner, or of his owners, ascendant or descendant. Slaves abandoned by their owners: if these abandon them because of incapacity they shall be bound to maintain them, except in the case of poverty, and the aliments shall be fixed by the Orphan Judge. Any slave who in any way establishes himself, with the express consent of his owner, as a free man. In general, the slaves liberated by virtue of this law will remain for five years under the inspection of the government. They will be bound to hire themselves out, under

penalty of being compelled, if living in vagabondage, to labour in the public establishments. However, the compulsion to work will cease whenever the freedman shows a contract for hire.

Art. 9. The Orphan Court shall have primary jurisdiction in all civil questions of freedom. The process shall be summary. There shall be an *ex-officio* appeal, whenever the decision is against freedom. The public prosecutor may promote the rights and favour conceded by law to freedmen and slaves, and represent them in all freedom suits in which they are parties.

Art. 8. The Government shall order a special registration of all slaves existing in the empire, with declaration of the name, age, sex, condition, fitness for labour, and the parentage of each, if it be known. The time for opening and closing the registration shall be early and fully made known, and all slaves who, through the fault or omission of interested parties, are not given in for registration within a year after its close, shall be *ipso facto* held free. Slave women's children freed by this law shall be registered in a separate book. Masters omitting to do so, from negligence, shall incur a fine of from 100 to 200 dollars, repeated for every individual omitted; and if through fraud, the penalties of art. 179 of the Criminal Code. The parish priests shall be obliged to have separate books for the registration of the births and deaths of the children of slaves born since the date of this law. Each omission shall subject the priest to a fine of 100 dollars.

Art. 9. The government is authorised to regulate the voluntary and litigious jurisdiction of the Orphan Court, in relation to the slaves, and to individuals free or freed by virtue of this law, subjecting the regulation to the approval of the Legislature. To regulate, besides, the functions of public prosecutors, in conformity with art. 7. To impose fines up to 100 dollars, and imprisonment up to one month, in the regulations made for the execution of this law.

Art. 10. All contrary provisions are revoked.

This bill is the offspring of injustice and fear; it is a bad compromise.

Our Creator made the Negro a man: Brazil has made him, and this bill treats him as, a thing—a chattel—for base and servile use, or sale, or both. It contains no trace of being Heaven-born, except that the State frees its slaves. The existing slave may redeem himself—how many thousands cannot possibly do so—others may redeem him; and this might possibly—not improbably—involve a tedious and harassing legal process, with unsatisfactory results.

The babe born into freedom, with slave parents, brothers, and sisters, will not be free, really, until twenty-one, perhaps thirty years of age, by this bill. It is a bill to prolong slavery.

The Imperial and public conscience in

Brazil must be taken as in favour of the Abolition of Slavery: it were well if her politicians and her planters would convert the national aspiration into law and fact. They would, generally, legislate more freely, sleep more soundly, make their wills, and leave their estates and families freer from apprehension, were Brazil delivered from this fearful sin.

The feverishness and unrest of Brazil are universal; they are acknowledged—spontaneously and mournfully. This great wrong is the great cause: to remove it may be difficult; to continue it is impossible; to trifle with, to tinker at it, is dangerous.

The quotation from the Imperial speech at the head of this article fitly describes the attitude of Brazil; yet it implies the tests which try her, and the dangers and woes which menace her.

It is only by interpreting the opening words of that quotation in a Scripture sense—and they will not fairly bear a sense excluding this—that the sentence can be accepted as a complete one. And then it may be taken as prophetic of blessings, as well as an intimation of duty, and as an indication of danger. "This question" may be resolved if "counsel" be taken of the Highest, who would have "every yoke broken"—who would have "the oppressed go free." This "national aspiration" is from Him.

"Enlightened prudence;" "the highest considerations;" "respect to existing property;" the interest of owners;" how are all these to be harmonised? By removing the curse of Slavery—by recognising the personal, the domestic, the social, the religious, rights of the slave.

"It is time to resolve this question:" let it be embraced, and good will follow. "It is time": let it be neglected, abused, and in Brazil an inscrutable and just Providence may give freedom to the slave in a way somewhat similar to that in which He gave it six years ago to the slaves in the United States. "It is time"—*this is the time.*

We ask the earnest attention of Brazilians generally, and of Brazilian statesmen particularly, to the articles under the head of Freedmen's Committee of Correspondence, in our present number. There they will find suggestion, direction, and encouragement, as to proceeding in the path of right: that, and that alone, is the path of safety, of honour, and of utility.

Is it impossible for the Brazilian Chambers to lay a tax on property for that purpose—to aid in paying interest on a loan—if they will give compensation; is it impossible to make such an offer of the suitable, vast, fertile, untilled lands of the empire to im-

migrants, on such terms as would advantage the foreign settlers and the national exchequer, the proceeds to be applied in the same direction?

Let Slavery be abolished; convert the chattel into a citizen, educate him, pay him fair wages, and give to him a fair start in the race of life; and Brazil would rise in the scale of nations; and her internal character and her external reputation would both be a reflection of, and bear witness to, the Divine approbation and blessing.

"This is the time!"

(From the *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, June 6.)

THE Slave question continues to absorb public attention throughout the empire, and a body of important Rio de Janeiro planters have presented to the Senate a petition strongly condemning the Government measure. However, a direct issue in regard to it was raised last week in the Chamber of Deputies, by the opposition, who moved to substitute for the Committee paragraphs, relating to emancipatory legislation, in the response to the Throne Speech, others condemnatory of the principles of the Government Bill, and of legislation generally. After a warm debate, which continued three days, the amendment of the opposition was rejected by the large majority of 63 to 35, only eight deputies being absent. The vote was nominal, and it showed that the strength of the opposition to emancipatory legislation comes mainly from the two provinces of Rio de Janeiro and Minas Geraes. A considerable number of private emancipations have been reported from various parts of the empire, including one of some 100 individuals.

THE MEN OF OLD.

ST. ANSELM.

St. Anselm (may he rest for evermore
In Heaven's sweet peace) forbade, of old, the sale
Of men as slaves, and from the sacred pale
Hurled the Northumbrian buyers of the poor.

ST. AMBROSE.

To ransom souls from bonds and evil fate
St. Ambrose melted down the sacred plate,
Image of saint, the chalice, and the pix,
Crosses of gold and silver candlesticks.
"Man is worth more than temples!" he replied,
To such as came his holy work to chide.

CESARIUS.

The brave Cesarius, stripping altars bare,
And coining from the Abbey's golden hoard
The captive's freedom, answered to the prayer
Of threat of those whose fierce zeal for the Lord
Stifled their love of man—"An earthen dish
The last sad supper of the Master bore:
Most miserable sinners! do ye wish
More than your Lord, and grudge His dying poor
What your own pride and not His need requires?
Souls, than these shining gauds, He values more;
Mercy, not sacrifice, His heart desires."

XAVIER.

We need, methinks, the prophet hero still
Saints of true life, and martyrs strong of will
To tread the land, even now, as Xavier trod
The streets of Goa, barefoot, with his bell,
Proclaiming Freedom in the name of God,
And startling tyrants with the fear of hell!
Soft words, smooth prophecies, are doubtless well;
But to rebuke the Age's popular crime,
We need the souls of fire, the hearts of that old time.

WHITTIER.

(From the *Times*, June 19th.)

WHEN the name of Brazil is mentioned to English politicians of middle-age and onwards they will instantly connect it with the Slave-trade controversy. Some of them will connect it with little else. Brazil was one of the States with which our Foreign Office was always wrangling, and of which our philanthropists were always complaining. Statesmen, without distinction of party, have been accustomed to advocate the most high-handed measures in dealing with the Brazilian Government, and moral lectures of the severest character have accompanied the practical discipline of searching, seizing, and condemning Brazilian ships suspected of an intention to approach the African coast with evil designs. The Anti-Slave-trade tradition was common to Lord Aberdeen and Lord Palmerston, and it is difficult to say which of the two was more ready to strain the law of nations in its support. As far as we can judge, the Brazilian Government took in very good part the assumptions of England and France, and though it may be too much to say that the Emperor's advisers had any great zeal in the cause which was so peremptorily supported from abroad, yet it may be allowed that they fairly carried out the stipulations to which they had consented. Now, not only is the Brazilian Slave-trade practically extinct, but Slavery itself seems likely to pass away. With the advance of the world in humanity and also in true economical science the institution is everywhere tottering to its fall. A great war has destroyed it in the United States. The Spanish Revolution of 1868 has given it a death-blow in Cuba. Even in Brazil it is probable that its abolition will be found not only moral but advantageous. Legislation on the subject, providing for the gradual manumission of the slaves and for the compensation of the masters, has been proposed, and whatever may become of the Government bill having this object, which is now pending in the Chamber of Deputies, Slavery in the Empire may be regarded as already doomed.

THE COOLIE SLAVE TRADE.

BURNING OF A COOLIE SHIP.

WE read in the *Overland China Mail* the following account of the burning of a ship with 650 coolies on board, only 50 of whom were saved. "The coolie ship *Don Juan* (the *Dolores Ugarte* of a week previous) left

Macao for Peru, with 650 Chinese coolies on board, on the 4th May. When about 50 miles off the south-east coast of Hong Kong, the ship took fire on the 6th. It burnt for over 24 hours, during which time some 600 were roasted alive in the hold, or drowned, and 50 or so were saved from a spar by a junk-master. Captain and crew escaped in the boats shortly after the fire; and it is only by accident that any coolies were saved. The coolies say the fire was accidental, while the captain alleges a revolt and wilful fire-rising by the coolies. Over 50 of the coolies are in Hong Kong, some badly burnt; captain and crew are safe in Macao. Coolie traffic at Macao suspended for the present."—*Daily News*, June 29th.

"THE DOLORES UGARTE."

LEUNG ASHEW, a coolie, who was saved when the ship *Dolores Ugarte*, with 600 coolies on board, took fire, gave the following account of himself on being landed at Hong Kong:—"I am a native of Sunning; I am 20 years old; I have no employment. A few days ago a cousin of mine took me to Macao to get me employment. He lodged me in a foreigner's house. I stayed three days in this house. I was then taken to a barracoon, where I stopped two days. I was next taken to an officer. An interpreter told me that I was to go to Peru to work for 4 dols. a month; that if I refused to go, I was to be sent to the chain-gang for six years, and thereafter to be put into a dungeon for two years. I had no option but to put my name to a printed form, which had Chinese and European writing on it. A seal was then placed on it. I was paid 8 dols. in silver; I was also given two suits of clothes, a wadded jacket, and a pair of shoes. No bedding of whatever kind was given me, not even a mat. I was then marched into a boat with several hundred others. There were several boats. Some foreigners guarded us. They carried muskets and drawn swords, about one to every ten men. We were all put into a large hold. The grating of the hatch was always down. There were two hatchways, and each had an iron grating. After the ship sailed, we were not allowed on deck at any time. Twelve men were told off to act as cooks. They were allowed on deck. The hatch gratings were only opened to lower down our meals. Nobody was allowed to smoke. We had five lights in the hold all night long. There were about ten foreigners acting as sentries in the hold. They had swords and rattans. I have not seen them use the rattans. They were on duty night and day. On the third day after we sailed, shortly after our breakfast, there was a fire on board. The smoke came into our hold in a great volume. There was no foreigner in the hold at the time. The smoke came in very thick, and a great many were suffocated. More than one hour after the smoke first came into our hold, the hatch grating was torn off by

somebody—by one of the cooks I believe. We all made a rush for the hatchway. I was partially suffocated when I got to the hatchway, and I could not climb up it. Some Chinamen pulled me up. The fire had then reached the hatchway. My face was severely burnt in my attempt to get up the hatch. When I came up, the whole ship, from the mainmast to the stern, was a mass of flames. I was holding to the anchor-chain. The anchor was dangling at the side of the ship, in the bow. I seated myself on the anchor, and my hands were holding to the chain. When the fire reached the wood-work which held the anchor-chain, I was tumbled into the sea with the anchor. I could swim a little, and I swam to a burnt spar, which was floating on the water. There were three or four others besides me holding to this spar. It was a small spar. When I fell into the water it was about one hour after I came out of the hold. When I came on deck I could not see any foreigners, nor did I see any boats. I was very much confused, and was partly insensible from the effects of my burns. There was a larger spar floating on the water, and more than ten men were holding on it. I and the others who held to the smaller spar were carried away by the current, and I did not see what had become of the larger spar and its men. We were carried away much faster by the current, as we had fewer men and our spar was much smaller. I was carried so far away from the burning ship that I could hardly see her. I was picked up by a fishing junk that passed in the evening of the same day the fire occurred. The junkmen wanted us to give them money before they would pick us up. I had some money with me, 5 dols., the balance of my advance of 8 dols. at the barracoon. I paid them 5 dols. and the junkmen picked me up. The junkmen refused to take in my companions, four in number, because they had no money to pay them. These four men wanted to get into this junk, but the junkmen pushed them back, and they had to remain on the spar. I do not know the number of the junk. When I was picked up I could see that there were over ten others floating on a spar a long way off. The junk took me to Hong Kong. This is the fourth day I have been here. When the junk arrived the men sent me ashore in a boat, and took no more care of me. I could hardly walk, and I did not know where to go, as I am a perfect stranger here. I walked on to a stonemason's shed, but the men refused to shelter me for the night. I walked on and came to a bridge, and stopped under the arch for the night. I went further up the hill and came to another stonemason's shed. The men received me in, but they gave me nothing to eat nor anything to lie down upon. They told me to lie upon some grass. I stopped there two days. Yesterday evening I left this shed and came to a door of a shop; as it was raining at the time, I lay down in front of it under the awning. The shopkeeper turned me away. A seamstress took pity on me, and advised an elderly man to take care of me. He took pity on me, and conducted me to his house. After

picking me up the junkmen went on further, picking up any wrecked property they could find. The junk took in nine others on the way. The junk got money from all these men. The junkmaster adopted two of these men as his sons, whom he retained on board; the rest he sent ashore at the same time I was sent ashore. I do not know where these men have gone to. The elderly man who received me last night wanted to adopt me as his son, but his own son prevented him. The fare on board the ship was inferior to what I was accustomed to at Sunning. The treatment on board was very good, except that we were not allowed on deck for any purpose. We could play at dominoes or dice in the hold. My treatment on board the fishing junk was very good, but I could not eat, as my pain was very great. I could not tell how the fire originated. On our way here in that fishing junk we saw many persons on the water, but the junk people would not receive them, as they had no money."—*Times*.

THE CASE OF "LA NOUVELLE PENELOPE."

(From *The Cycle* (Shanghai), 22nd April.)

CHIEF JUSTICE SMALE has manfully discharged a duty for which he deserves the cordial thanks of every friend of humanity. He has pronounced the atrocious Macao coolie traffic to be the slave-trade under another name, and upon this broad basis he justifies the rising of coolies on board "emigrant" vessels, and excuses the homicides and other horrors which attend such events. Without at all entering into the questions of law involved, we heartily congratulate the Hongkong colony upon possessing a judge who is not afraid to lay the axe to the very root of this enormity, and to trample underfoot all considerations arising out of vested interests or legal quibbles. It required no little courage to pronounce the decision in the *Nouvelle Pénélope* case, for in the first instance the coolie trade is one of the most profitable in which foreigners in China have ever embarked, and in the next the justification of what Kwoh A-shing and his comrades did amounts to the justification of all the many other acts of a like kind committed under like circumstances. The Chief Justice has attempted to make out a list of adventures in which there have been coolie risings, destruction of the vessels, and failure of the voyages. Although the catalogue is not complete it seems that, within a short period, six or seven ships at least, carrying about three thousand coolies, have been burned or otherwise destroyed with immense loss of life shared alike by the captors and the captured. Yet in view of the sacred right of every man to strike for his liberty without considering what the effect of that stroke will be upon the guilty, and holding that the coolies on board these vessels are to all intents and purposes slaves, the rigorous process of logic leads to no other conclusion than that which Judge Smale has faced. A slave in

the ordinary acceptance of the term is an individual at the absolute disposal of another, and it is only necessary to read the evidence given on the other side in the *Nouvelle Pénélope* case, in order to satisfy ourselves that this was the relation in which the coolies stood to their captors. One man went on board because he was assured that if he did not do so he would be sent to Canton and be beheaded. Others said that they had been kidnapped and were obliged to submit. All were herded together in a barracoon previous to being driven on board by armed men. Arrived on the ship they were kept under hatches during the night with one of the crew on guard. They were not permitted to come abaft a barrier erected between the main and mizen masts, and this barrier was seven or eight feet high and about four inches thick. It was pierced by two doors guarded by forward-pointed guns, which were said not to have been kept loaded, but ammunition for which was at hand. Muskets, bayonets, and revolvers were plentifully supplied, and altogether the fit-out of the vessel was obviously that of a slaver. Deeds are often more eloquent than words, and either the original wrong of being dragged from home, or the anticipated evils of servitude in a foreign land, or the present miseries of the voyage, or, more probably, all three together, led two of the coolies to attempt suicide, one being successful. It may be said that it is very easy to persuade a Chinese to commit suicide, and that, in fact, he will hang, drown, or otherwise make away with himself if only he can be sure that somebody to whom he owes a grudge will be suspected of having killed him. Here there could have been no motive of this kind. Justice was represented by the swords, bayonets, and revolvers in the captain's room, and the captain's will, together with the established precedents of the coolie traffic, were the sole law. Hence, accepting these facts, the character of the vessel and of the coolies is made manifest, and, according to English law, those who knowingly carry or assist in carrying as a slave any person upon the high seas, or for the purpose of his being brought into any territory whatsoever as a slave, are to be adjudged guilty of piracy, felony, and robbery, and on conviction shall suffer as pirates, felons, and robbers upon the seas ought to suffer, and this penalty was death until the first year of Queen Victoria. However it is not because the law punishes offences that private individuals are justified in doing so. Considerations such as those just enumerated lead us to a conception of the light wherewith slavery in the abstract presented itself to our law-makers. But what is a man to do for himself when he finds himself in the position of Kwoh A-shing and the other unfortunates on board *La Nouvelle Pénélope*? To drown one's self is but a sorry way of escape, and the attempt not being always successful, it may only intensify present misery. To rise, and smash, and butcher everybody who seems to have had anything to do with the inauguration or continuance of the scheme of kidnapping are the natural impulses. The captain and crew died horrible deaths, but

they stood their chance and lost, and they richly deserved their fate. We cannot conceive any mode of exit from the world which would not be too honourable or merciful for some of the miscreants who are engaged in the coolie trade. The "French gentleman" who commanded *La Nouvelle Pénélope* may have been an exception, but most likely was nothing of the kind. At any rate the event proved that he took little pains to alleviate the miseries of the unfortunates stowed in his hold with not half so much care as if each man were a bale of merchandise.

It is to us not only sad but passing strange that so late as this year it should be necessary for a judge to decide a case arising out of the slave-trade as carried on by a nominally civilised State. The founders of slavery in ancient times had more bowels of compassion than the Macao authorities, for the former only killed their captives while the latter export them as "emigrants."

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND THE COOLIE SYSTEM.

THE Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal made some important remarks at the Viceregal Council on Friday on the subject of coolie emigration. An Emigration Bill was introduced by Mr. Chapman with a view to protecting coolies in the depôts in India, and on the voyage to the colonies. The Lieutenant-Governor thought that something more was needed and that the responsibility of the Government did not cease with the landing of the emigrants. He suggested that it would be desirable for the Government of India to appoint a local agent to look after the interests of the coolies in British colonies. Mr. Stephen pointed out that the Government already possessed power to put a stop to emigration to any place where the emigrants were not properly treated; and he held that the Government had evinced all due care and vigilance to secure for the colonists the needful protection. Mr. Campbell was satisfied with the explanation; but there is after all something very important indeed in the point that he raised. It may be said with some show of reason that the coolies having left territory under the Government of India are handed over to colonial Governments. Still, we are bound to look at it in the light in which we should, if the Government of India was over our own people, and that they were similarly helpless. The poor people go away relying, not on the Governments of the West Indies, but on that of India. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal will do good service if he can keep an eye on the emigration laws.—*The Friend of India*, March 15th, 1871.

HINDOO COOLIES.

In the nine years ending March last the following number of labourers have been shipped from Calcutta to the Colonies, have returned, and have brought savings with them :—

To	Embarked.	Returned.	Total Savings.
British Guiana ..	35,168	2,021	£64,521
Trinidad	17,816	1,151	34,971
Jamaica	6,216
Minor Colonies in West Indies ..	3,121	869	2,398
Mauritius	36,552	16,867	not known
St. Croix (Danish). ..	321	250	2,464
Réunion (French). ..	8,115	604	not known
Total ..	107,307	21,262	

Eighty-six thousand human beings have thus been lost to India in so many parts of which the demand for labour for cotton, tea, coffee, and even grain, is so great. No British subject has been sent to Réunion since 1865.—*Friend of India.*

SERVED "ROYALTY" RIGHT.—Mirza Secunder Beg, one of the Delhi royal family residing at Shiwalla Ghat, Benares, was tried on Tuesday last, before the Sessions Judge, on the charge of buying slave-girls, and sentenced to four years' simple imprisonment and a fine of five hundred rupees. His pleader appealed by telegraph to the High Court to suspend execution of the sentence; but no order from the High Court to that effect arriving within the five hours allowed by the lower Court for the purpose of such communication, Mirza Secunder Beg, despite his imperial ancestry, was conducted to the common jail.—*Pioneer.*

AN INDIAN SLAVE-TRADE.

(From the *Standard*.)

"It would be well," says the *Pioneer of India*, "if magistrates and the police throughout the country would direct some special attention to the operations of a set of scoundrels who, there is reason to believe, are just now particularly active, who are formidably organised, and the cause of great misery in native households, and of much (not entirely undeserved) odium to Government. Some late judicial proceedings have established the fact that the enrolment of coolies for service in the West Indies, as pursued in Allahabad, differs in no essential respect, except one, from the old African slave-trade. This one exception is that in the present case the victims are British subjects! Here in India, as formerly in Africa,

the slaves are seized by force, and detained against their will, and despite their tears and entreaties. Not the least ugly feature in the system is that it appears that young, good-looking women are the class of coolies preferred in 'Jamaica.' The 'emigration agents' go about in uniform and wearing the chappass, to all appearance the immediate servants of Government. It is therefore no wonder, but we are tempted to think it almost a pity, that such villainy as is perpetrated with the apparent sanction of Government does not excite a rebellion. A small *émeute* would quicken the Governmental conscience amazingly."

From a subsequent number of the *Pioneer* it appears that four of the Allahabad kidnappers, alias Jamaica emigration agents, have received a measure of punishment, having been sentenced to twelve, nine, and six months' imprisonment respectively for "unlawful confinement." The discovery of the slave-depot where some ten or twelve women were kept in durance came about in this wise :—

"A fine-looking young woman went out on the morning of the 14th to earn her usual daily wages by grinding corn for a Bunyah. It appeared, however, that the Bunyah had no corn for grinding that morning, and she was consequently returning home when a man accosted her, and offered her a job in corn-grinding at six pice for the day. She followed him to the serai at Khurdabad in the city, where another man made his appearance and demanded her name. She began to suspect something was wrong and tried to escape, but was hustled into a room in the serai, where a number of other women and a few children were huddled up together guarded by a third peon. Her entreaties for release were answered by blows and cuffs. She was told not to be a fool—that she would be sent to Jamaica, where she would get twelve rupees a month, besides clothes, &c. She replied that she had an infant at home and did not want to go away; she was, however, detained, strict watch being maintained over the whole party day and night. The next day her sister succeeded in tracing her out, and began to weep and beat her breast before the door, until the peon on guard pushed her also inside, saying that she might keep her sister company to Jamaica. Either, however, the arrest of the sister had been too public, or her vociferous howling inside was considered dangerous, for the peon after a time turned her out again. She offered a rupee to the recruiting agent for her sister's release, but he would not take less than five rupees. In despair she went to the Rev. Mr. Evans, where her nephew worked, and appealed to him for aid. That gentleman accordingly, in company with the Rev. Mr. Williamson, went to the place indicated, and inquired of one of the agents what it all meant. The scoundrel declared he had orders from Government to collect people for service in Jamaica, but pretended that all the women inside were there with their own consent. This, however, the women eagerly denied, and rushed pell-mell into the street—one in such hurry and terror that she

left her infant behind, and had to be called back to take it away. If it had not been for the humane interference of the Rev. Mr. Evans it is probable that a batch of some twenty wretched women would shortly have been produced before a magistrate, where, like Oliver Twist before the guardians, they would have been too bewildered and terrified to express their horror at the idea of being expatriated—and then, why then, the subaltern kidnappers would, if we are rightly informed, have received from their European employers seven rupees for each poor woman so recruited, as an encouragement to further such good work. We are curious, by the bye, to know why the fee for each woman captured is seven rupees, while that for the man is only four—evidently feminine labour is especially appreciated ‘in Jamaica’ or somewhere. Though, as we have said, these particular women owe their liberation to Messrs. Evans and Williamson, the arrest of the scoundrelly kidnappers did not take place till some six or seven days later, and was due to the initiative of the police under the sub-inspector of the Colonelgunge station.”

THE COOLIE TRAFFIC.

From “*What the Chinese really think of Europeans.*”

BY A NATIVE LITERATE.

“WITH regard to the coolie traffic, although it is given out that these men are sent abroad to cultivate waste lands, and that sums of money are advanced to them before starting for the subsistence of their families, yet the greater portion emigrate against their will, being kidnapped by rascally natives, and taken straight to the depôts. The kidnappers pocket the subsistence advance, and the kidnapped have no means of making known their grievances, still less of effecting their escape. Not one in a thousand of these men ever returns to China; and very few, who have ever succeeded in so doing, effected this object by being possessed of money. Even they bring back pitiable tales of their loss of freedom, and of the unspeakable hardships they have undergone. What, therefore, must have been the sufferings of the others, who had no money, and never returned to our country? After fourteen years their period of forced service is over, and when some die on their way home, some from pestilential climates, some, from want of money, are obliged to remain at their former labour, while some have to undergo the sad lot of begging their bread in strange countries.

“For these reasons our people thoroughly dread the system of Coolie emigration; and of late years, although tempted by the most liberal offers, not one single man has

gone abroad as a Coolie except those unfortunate wretches who have been kidnapped.

“If, after the completion of their fourteen years of captivity, they were given free return passages to China, a great number of Coolies could, however, be obtained.”—*Fraser's Magazine*, March, 1871.

THE POLYNESIAN SLAVE TRADE.

DAYSpring MISSIONARY SHIP.

ARRIVAL AT MELBOURNE.

FRESH NEWS OF KIDNAPPING IN THE SOUTH SEAS.

THE agent of the New Hebrides mission in Sydney has forwarded to the *Morning Herald* a letter from Mr. John G. Paton, giving accounts of how South Sea Islanders are removed in British vessels to Fiji and Queensland. The writer states that, being necessitated to proceed from Aniwa, New Hebrides, to Lifu, that the *Wild Duck*, Captain Martin, anchored near the *Dayspring* in the Fiji harbour of Faté. As the *Dayspring*'s boat neared the *Wild Duck*, three Santo lads leaped from the deck into the boat imploring to be set at liberty, as they did not want to go away in the vessel. They were dragged into the ship again with great difficulty. The captain refused to let them go, as he said they came voluntarily on board his vessel, and now he claimed them as his. There were about thirty natives on board, nearly all boys. The stoutest of the native men were in irons under the hatch, as he said that they had been resisting, and were dangerous to his men. He said also that the friends of most of the others had been paid for them. “Some got blankets, some got knives, and one got an axe.” About ten o'clock that evening one of the Santo lads (Mr. Goodwill's servant) leaped overboard; they levelled a musket at him, threatening to shoot him, but he swam on, and got on shore, took a Faté canoe unobserved, got on board our vessel, imploring our protection, and soon after stowed himself away till the *Dayspring* was again out at sea. Captain Martin stated that when he was at Santo he sent a boat on shore containing three white men and two Faté natives. When the boat reached the shore it was surrounded by some 150 natives in a state of great excitement. The boat did not return to the ship, and the Santo natives on board said that the men had been murdered on reaching shore. The day after this occurred the missionaries visited Santo, and the natives there informed them that the men were killed and feasted on in

revenge for a ship having stolen and taken away six women near that place. On the last visit friendly natives warned the men in the *Dayspring's* boat not to go in at that place, as they would be all murdered in revenge. The *Lyttona* (so famous already in Queensland), Captain Winship, came next to anchor near the *Dayspring* in Fil harbour. At daylight next morning an elder of the church at Pago named "Lor" came to the *Dayspring*, and made the following complaint:—"The captain of the *Lyttona*, on his way north, bought three boys belonging to Pago, Ariss, and Kalsa, from their father—Tapina—for a musket; and Akow, an orphan boy from Nopopon, for a piece of calico. Now the boys cry too much, and want to go ashore again. Yesterday, all men Pago take calico he give for one boy, and musket he gave for two boys on board to him, and say—'Very good, you take him all back again, and let the three boys come on shore again. He no want any pay belonging to you.' But the captain no let him go. Can you help us?" When remonstrated with by the missionaries, the captain said, "I don't see what right I have to give up these boys: it would neither pay me nor my employers to do so." He said that what he had done was common now in the trade, and he resolved to keep them whatever the consequences might be. He added, "You cannot call it purchasing these boys; I only gave their father a present of a musket, and he gave me the two boys—and another man a present of calico, and he gave me one boy." He sailed soon after for Queensland with the boys. His vessel was eighty-one tons, and he said that he had seventy-six natives on board. *La Maria*, Captain Morgan, was the third vessel that anchored near the *Dayspring*. On his voyage north, Captain Morgan got a Faté chief to assist him in procuring natives at Api. The Api natives quarrelled with him. His followers wished to avenge his death, and assaulted a white man in the boat, who was only saved at the intercession of the missionaries. The *Maria*, of 51 tons, took away forty-seven, males and females. It was stated that Captain Morgan got the females to come off and see his ship, and kept them. At Viguna four boys were sold for a musket, and were taken away in a boat belonging to the *Jason*, of Queensland. Sam, a native of Fiji harbour, told the *Dayspring's* men that he had been lately at the Northern Islands helping the *Spunkie* to get natives. He had shot a native at the command of the captain. Another Faté man was ordered to shoot a native, and refused; whereupon Sam seized a musket and shot him dead. The captain gave him two muskets, some

calico, tobacco, &c., for killing these men. A white man living at Tanna reported a case of a vessel running down a canoe at sea, with some eighteen or twenty-four natives in it, and taking them all prisoners. On Mr. Paton's trip to Fiji harbour one vessel joined the *Dayspring* with natives. At Santo there were two looking for natives; at Nguna another two; and at Tanna one vessel passed them, and one was at anchor, both engaged in the same trade. For the last two months one of the missionaries has seen on an average ten vessels weekly passing his island in this trade. The *Wild Duck* on one trip had three white men and two Faté men killed; the *La Maria* one Faté man; the *Spunkie* two Malicolo natives; another vessel a chief, who had been deceived and carried away, became desperate, killed a white man, then leaped overboard, and was drowned; another vessel lost a white man. A vessel cast away at Api is said to have had nine natives killed. Captain Stewart, of a whaler, called at an island, in company with a slaver's boat, for provisions, when the natives shot arrows at them, and a poisoned one wounded the captain's arm, which was much inflamed when he called at Santo, and death was almost certain. Mr. Paton, after stating that an armed guard is always kept over the natives when on board such vessels, goes on to say that, although this trade is dignified by the name of the "cheap labour trade," it is but a revival of the slave-trade. Also that the native desire for revenge is now reaching its climax on all the islands. Lately natives taken to Fiji in the *Flirt*, when brought before the Consul, declined to sign any agreement, as they had been deceived and stolen. The Consul said it was a clear case of man-stealing, but gave them and their captor twelve hours to consider what was to be done. Means were brought to bear upon them, so that when the time had elapsed the Consul got them passed. The same system is adopted in Queensland by Government agents. The writer concludes by saying that unless the British Government puts a complete stop to this trade, and disperses the ruffians engaged in it, the island will soon be depopulated. All hope of getting redress from the colonies, he says, has been given up, but he trusts that an appeal to Great Britain will not be made in vain.

GEORGE S. MABSON, coloured, the first graduate of the Law department of Howard University, has been admitted to practise at the bar of the United States Supreme Court. He will practise in North Carolina, his native State.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

JULY 1, 1871.

COUNT DE GASPARIN.

WE regret to have to record the death of the Count Agenor de Gasparin, which took place recently at Geneva, where he resided the last twenty years of his life. He was a man of enlarged Christian sympathies and the eloquent advocate of many a good cause. Among others, he took a deep interest in the abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade, and was the fellow-labourer of the late venerable Duc de Broglie. He had scarcely attained the age of 61 when he was called to his rest. Of him we believe it may be truly said, "he served his generation according to the will of God."

THE EMPEROR OF BRAZIL.

HIS Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Brazil arrived in London on Thursday, the 29th ult., and took up his quarters at Claridge's Hotel.

The British press, in most cordially welcoming His Majesty, gives expression to the prevailing sentiment of respect and affection entertained towards him by the British people for his many virtues.

Were all Brazilians like their Emperor, Slavery would be speedily swept away, and tranquillity be secured.

This Society, acting from a strong sense of duty, has privately forwarded to His Majesty an address of congratulation on his safe arrival, together with a plea for those in bonds in Brazil.

SLAVERY IN BRAZIL.

TO THE MINISTRY, THE COUNCIL OF STATE,
AND THE LEGISLATURE OF BRAZIL.

THE Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, having observed with great satisfaction that the Brazilian Government are at length about to adopt measures for the total abolition of Slavery,

beg, in no spirit of dictation, but very respectfully, to offer a few brief remarks on the subject; being the result of careful and long-continued observations of Negro Slavery, and the operation of the methods adopted in various countries for its extinction, during the past fifty years.

The difficulty of turning from Slavery to Freedom, and from a vicious to a healthy state of society, must of course always be great.

In order to avoid these difficulties, palliative and gradual means have occasionally been tried; but history shows that such means have never, in any single instance, proved successful.

Statesmen of the present day have an immense advantage on this subject over those who have preceded them, because past events have demonstrated that the course attended with the greatest benefits and the fewest disadvantages has invariably been found in immediate emancipation.

Past events have also everywhere shown that immediate emancipation interferes less with the supply of labour than any intermediate course.

Should the Brazilian Legislature adopt a merely half-measure, as long as it is in operation no free and healthy immigration of labourers can be expected. The free people from no part of the world will immigrate into a country where Slavery in any form is known to exist.

The result of our experience and observation is so well set forth in one of the resolutions of the Great International Conference, held in Paris in 1867, that we venture to extract it, to enclose copies, and to solicit for it your gravest consideration. It is as follows:—

"It is proved that half-measures do no good: that systems of apprenticeship, of liberating children, of gradual emancipation, have imperilled property, the domestic circle, and public order; have loosened every tie without breaking or replacing them; have excited impatience, uneasiness, and suspicion, and that immediate, definitive, and radical emancipation has everywhere proved the only means of re-adjusting and securing all interests, at the same time satisfying justice, and reconciling the races."

It is a great satisfaction to us to learn that your Emperor is about to visit this country. As an enemy to Slavery, and the friend of freedom and justice, His Majesty will receive the hearty and cordial welcome of the people of Great Britain.

In conclusion, we would express our earnest desire that, in dealing with the subject of Slavery, the sacred rights of humanity may prevail over all inferior considerations, and that you may so act as

that the blessing of the Most High may rest upon you and upon the great people of Brazil.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

JOSEPH COOPER, } Honorary
ROBERT ALSOP, } Secretaries.
EDMUND STURGE,

THOS. PHILLIPS,
Assistant Secretary.

New Broad Street, London,
26th May, 1871.

THE POLYNESIAN SLAVE-TRADE.

DEPUTATION TO THE MARQUIS OF NORMANBY.

A JOINT deputation of the Aborigines Protection Society and the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society waited upon the Marquis of Normanby, the newly-appointed Governor of Queensland, at the rooms of the Social Science Association, 1, Adam Street, Adelphi, on the 17th April, 1871. The deputation, which was introduced by Mr. T. Hughes, M.P., consisted of Mr. Charles Buxton, M.P., Mr. E. B. Eastwick, M.P., Mr. P. A. Taylor, M.P., Dr. Underhill, Major Evans Bell, the Rev. Thomas Phillips, and Messrs. Samuel Gurney, Edmund Sturge, Frederick Tucket, C. H. Hopwood, G. L. Neighbour, William Tweedie, T. B. Smithies, John Taylor, W. H. Warton, J. D. Appleton, Frederick Wheeler, and F. W. Chesson.

Several noblemen and members of parliament who had intended to be present were unable to attend. Among them was Mr. Baines, M.P. for Leeds, who wrote:—"I have a strong conviction that a new slave-trade is being raised up by unprincipled men in the South Seas, and that it is necessary to put it down and make it penal by very strong and decisive measures." Lord Alfred S. Churchill, Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Mr. R. N. Fowler, M.P., and the Hon. E. Lyulph Stanley, who had intended to be present, were unable to get up from the country in time to attend the deputation.

Mr. HUGHES, in opening the proceedings, said: "On hearing of your Lordship's appointment as Governor of Queensland, the two Societies ventured to request an interview with you, in consequence of the shocking state of affairs in the South Seas. From the evidence which has reached this country, it clearly appears that the traffic in Polynesians cannot be distinguished from the old slave-trade. The object of the deputation is to urge your Lordship to use your influence to put such restrictions upon the trade as will deprive

it of its evil characteristics. I will now call upon the secretaries of the two Societies to read the addresses which will be presented to your Lordship.

Mr. F. W. CHESSON read the following address from the Aborigines Protection Society:

"TO THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF NORMANBY, GOVERNOR OF QUEENSLAND.

"We desire to express to your Lordship the satisfaction which we feel at your appointment to the important office of Governor of Queensland, believing as we do that a nobleman of your high character and great ability will not fail to strengthen the ties between that colony and the mother country, and, at the same time, to impress upon the people whom you are about to govern that the best security for the future of any community is to be found in the establishment of just and equal laws.

"In common with many other Englishmen, we have learnt with deep regret that a trade in human beings has grown up between various islands in the Pacific and the colony of Queensland; that many of these islands have suffered greatly from slave-traders, who have employed force and fraud to obtain the so-called immigrants; and that, in consequence, enormous injury has been inflicted on the cause of civilisation in a part of the world where at one time the prospects of missionary enterprise appeared to be more than usually hopeful. We learn, on good authority, that last year no fewer than one hundred cargoes of these unfortunate islanders were taken from their homes by means which degrade the traffic to the level of the slave-trade.

"It would be unjust on our part to hold the colony of Queensland responsible for the whole or even the greater part of this iniquity. On the contrary, we freely admit that other British colonies, together with the Fijis and the French possessions in the Pacific, are also implicated in the traffic; but the people of Queensland have taken the lead in it, and we have distinct evidence that vessels bearing the commission of the Colonial Government have bought natives exactly as they would buy any other commodities, and have been in consequence involved in disputes in which many lives have been sacrificed.

"On the other hand, we fear it is equally certain that sufficient precautions are not taken in the colony itself to ensure the detection of abuses. More than one instance of the total absence of anything like a satisfactory check on the proceedings of the importers of this species of labour has been brought under our notice. We refer especially to cases in which the certificates setting forth that the immigrants came of their own free will were not signed, as we had official reason to believe they would be, by respectable Europeans living in the islands, or by responsible Government agents, but bear the signatures of subordinate officers of the vessels whose interest it naturally is to conceal any illegalities which may have been committed. We also learn with great

regret that, during the last few months, the Queensland branch of the trade has revived, and is now again in vigorous operation.

"It is unnecessary for us to enlarge upon this painful subject, because we feel sure that your Lordship will be no party to a renewal of Slavery or the Slave-trade, and that your influence in Queensland will be exerted with a view to develop the resources of that great colony in the interests of free labour and of the thousands of the emigrant classes in this country who would be attracted to the shores of Queensland if labour there is only honoured, instead of being degraded.

"In conclusion, we pray your Lordship to give your humane consideration to the treatment of the aboriginal natives of the colony, who, in the pastoral districts, are being rapidly exterminated. We cannot learn that anything is being done to promote their civilisation. If they commit outrages they are severely punished; but it does not appear that, when outrages are committed on them, the law is equally swift to overtake the offender. Queensland is far behind the other Australian colonies in this particular; a reproach which, we hope, will not long rest upon her.

"We heartily wish your Lordship a pleasant voyage to the distant scene of your future labours, and a prosperous and successful administration of the affairs of a colony which we would fain hope will become one of the brightest jewels in the British Crown.

"Signed on behalf of the Aborigines Protection Society,

*"S. GURNEY, President.
CHARLES BUXTON, M.P.
E. B. EASTWICK, M.P.
THOMAS HUGHES, M.P.
R. N. FOWLER, M.P.
F. W. CHESSON, Secretary."*

The Rev. T. PHILLIPS next read the address of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, as follows:—

"To HIS EXCELLENCY THE MARQUIS OF NORMANBY, GOVERNOR OF QUEENSLAND.

"Your Excellency,—The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society beg to congratulate you on your appointment by Her Majesty to the office of Governor of Queensland, to express their cordial wishes for your best success, and to thank you for the readiness with which you consented to receive a deputation from their Society.

"Their object in waiting on your Lordship is to express their strong regret at the complicity of a number of the most enterprising and influential of the inhabitants of Queensland with the 'Polynesian Slave-trade.'

"The Committee have read with great care and solicitation the latest published Report of Her Majesty's Emigration Commissioners respecting the introduction of South Sea Islanders into Queensland, together with their remarks on the evidence of certain employers of these labourers before a Committee of the Queensland House of Assembly, to the effect that 'the

position and character of those gentlemen make it impossible to doubt that their evidence is given with good faith and frankness,' and 'that they are unanimous in describing the immigrants as happy and contented, and in expressing their conviction that neither force nor fraud has been practised in collecting them.'

"These sentiments are not shared by the majority of the inhabitants of Queensland: and from a variety of circumstances which have come before them, this Committee are of opinion, that while some South Sea islanders willingly emigrate to Queensland and elsewhere to labour, they do so generally under false impressions; and that, certainly in the great majority of instances, they are deported under the influence of force or fraud, or both.

"The most competent witnesses as to the methods employed to obtain labourers from various South Sea Islands, in some cases the only witnesses, are Christian missionaries; and this Committee consider their evidence on this point, as a whole, conclusive.

"The proposal that a 'Government agent should be put on board ships taking home those who had served their time, as well as on board ships recruiting for emigrants,' is one which the Committee cannot view without alarm, as, if carried into effect, it would compromise the Government in what, under its best aspect, must be regarded as a questionable system.

"Besides, this Committee holds that the introduction of male and female immigrants in great disproportion is to intensify the evil; that the employment of these Polynesian immigrants must tend to the degradation of labour in every way; must more and more involve the reputation of Queensland; and must prevent the introduction, excepting to a very limited extent, of European colonists.

"The present is a critical moment in the colonisation of our tropical empire in Australia. While this Committee repudiates any legislation which should prevent, on the ground of competition with white labourers, a free and untrammeled immigration into those regions of all races who may be attracted by a benevolent Government, and a demand for their labour, they would at the same time regard any laws which give capital and artificial advantage in bringing labourers to these settlements under any kind of 'bondage' as fatal to the best interests of the future of these colonies. A vested interest, at once powerful and unscrupulous, might thus be gradually established, and the colonies, instead of becoming like those in which the social and domestic life of England can be developed, will sink to the level of those of which England has already owned too many; the resort only of men actuated solely by pecuniary considerations; and in which religious and moral improvement and social advancement are impossible.

"The Committee, therefore, earnestly entreat your Excellency to bring your great influence to bear for the extinction of whatever may favour the Slave-trade and Slavery, from

which the conscience of the whole Christian world revolts.

" We are,

" Your Excellency's humble obedient servants,

" Signed on behalf of the Committee,

" JOSEPH COOPER,

" EDMUND STURGE, } Hon. Secs.

" ROBERT ALSOP,

" THOMAS PHILLIPS, Assist.-Secretary.

" No. 27, New Broad Street,
London, 3rd April, 1871."

Mr. EDMUND STURGE: The subject which has been brought under the notice of your Lordship, though primarily one for the Aborigines Protection Society, has at the same time great special interest for the Anti-Slavery Society. The question as to the possibility of maintaining tropical agriculture in any tropical climate by means of European labour, assisted it may be by that of native races, is one which an able and beneficent government in Queensland is in the best position to solve. The negative of this question has been too readily assumed; but it seems to be forgotten that till towards the close of the seventeenth century the majority of the population in some of the West India Islands were Europeans, or of European extraction. It is true that, flooded as these islands were subsequently by the African Slave-trade, white labour quickly disappeared, as it ever has done in other climates when subjected to a degrading competition with slavery. The results of a systematic but artificial immigration into distant colonies are not such as, in their moral aspects, we can contemplate with satisfaction. In Demerara and Trinidad, where an extensive immigration has taken place, under a great amount of regulation and restriction, from the fluctuating character of the population and the sad disproportion of the sexes (most fertile of crime), there is presented a lamentable impossibility of raising the social condition of the people. It is nearly forty years since Lord Mulgrave, the father of the noble marquis, commenced those efforts, representing the British Government, which brought him into violent conflict with the Jamaica House of Assembly—a contest which has only ended by its extinction within the last few years, since which, under the splendid administration of Sir J. P. Grant, Jamaica seems at last emerging from the long heritage of evil which Slavery entailed upon it. If, under an able administration, exercised by the noble Marquis in Queensland, this problem of white labour in the tropics should be successfully solved, it will constitute another and not less important achievement, as being one which must most materially

affect for good the future destinies of labour all over the world. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. CHARLES BUXTON, M.P.: I went into this question some time ago, and I came then to the conclusion that that which has now developed into a trade in natives commenced in a fair and reasonable way. It has, in fact, degenerated into what is neither more nor less than a slave-trade, the natives being in many cases induced to leave their homes by representations which are entirely false, and in others by actual force. The people were subjected to great cruelty in transit, and when they arrived in Queensland the regulations were inadequate for their protection. I do not go quite so far as to think that, in the terms of the second address which was read, the time is ripe for the entire extinction of the trade; but I hope your Lordship's efforts will be directed to the framing of stringent rules for the regulation of the traffic. At one time the coolie trade was conducted in a most shameful and wicked manner, but at the present time the evil element has been to a very great extent eliminated. So with regard to the export of Polynesians. I think no South Sea islander ought to be deported to Queensland until a Government agent has certified that the migration is voluntary; further care ought also to be taken to prevent the infliction of cruelty in transit, and that after a fixed, and short, term of service they be restored, in case they desired it, to the country from whence they came. It would never do for England again to become, even through her colonies, involved in the Slave-trade, no principle having been more strongly laid down by the English people than that Slavery ought not to be permitted to exist in any part of the world. Lord Normanby's father, who was Governor of Jamaica at the time when emancipation took place, threw himself heart and soul into the great and glorious work: we may depend upon his son following so excellent an example. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. EASTWICK, M.P.: I have just read a most important letter from a Presbyterian clergyman at Melbourne with reference to this nefarious traffic, which leaves no doubt in my mind that the traffic has of late years been carried on in a way which would astonish and incense the people of England if made known to them. This missionary writes, that while at anchor in a bay in one of the Polynesian Islands, three vessels, carrying natives, anchored close alongside that in which he was, and the passengers, though desiring to leave the ships, were not allowed to do so, and some of them were placed in irons. From the description given, there can be little difference between

the traffic to which it refers and that which used to cause so much horror on the African coast. I agree in the main with the remarks which have been made by Mr. Buxton in reference to the subject. I do not think it would be possible, or perhaps advisable, to put an end to the immigration, because if properly conducted it would be mutually advantageous to the islanders and to the colony of Queensland; but I think some stringent regulations are absolutely necessary. I am strongly of opinion that the best remedy which could be applied would be the establishment of an Admiralty Court, to which the captains or owners of all vessels not carrying proper certificates would be amenable. The example made of one such captain or owner would, in my opinion, have a stronger effect in putting an end to the evil complained of than any amount of dispatches or correspondence.

Mr. P. A. TAYLOR, M.P.: My attention having been called to this subject by certain friends of my own in Queensland, I have given much thought to it, and brought it under the consideration of Parliament. My deliberate conclusion is, that, as at present conducted, the traffic possesses the worst features of slavery. Some time ago I asked a question of Mr. Monsell, who then thought the existing regulations sufficiently strong to put a stop to the evils; but I have lately received a letter from a gentleman who possesses great knowledge on the subject, who says, "The slave traffic in the South Seas is now assuming very formidable proportions, and is increasing in atrocity." (Hear, hear.) One of the reasons why it seems to me that under no circumstances can the existence of the traffic be compatible with good government is, that it is not confined to Queensland; and that, even supposing that emigration into Queensland could be well managed and the emigrants properly treated, there is this further danger, that the Polynesian islanders have no security that when they go on board ship they will reach their destination for which they have embarked. The result of the existing state of things has been, that many of the islands have been very nearly depopulated. The correspondent from whom I have just quoted informs me that the island of Efa is in this condition, Niairi, a great chief, and nearly all his people having been induced to go on board a ship in order to get biscuits and tobacco, and then carried away. The same gentleman says, "I may here state that for every vessel formerly in the slave-trade on our island, this year there seems to be three or four, and it is reported that they are giving drugs and intoxicating spirits through natives they

have degraded and trained for the purpose, to get the natives away on board their vessels." I can only express a hope that your Lordship will feel the importance of the matters which have been laid before you, and will take steps calculated to promote the well-being of the colony to which you are going, and to maintain the honour of England.

Mr. F. W. CHESSON: We have ascertained that there is no department in the colony of Queensland for the protection of the Aborigines, although such departments exist in all the other Australian Colonies. We are of opinion that, if a public officer were appointed to watch over the interests of the Aborigines, many outrages such as now take place in the pastoral districts might be prevented.

The Marquis of NORMANBY: I can assure you that I had great pleasure in complying with your request that I should meet you here to-day, and hear your opinions upon a subject which is of undoubted and vital importance—a subject to which I shall certainly give my best attention. Of course, as I have at present no personal experience or knowledge upon the subject to which the addresses and speeches I have heard have reference, you cannot expect me to say anything very definite, so far as the total abolition of this Polynesian emigration is concerned. I must say, speaking with all reserve, that I cannot think it possible to abolish it at present. I will go further, and say that, in my opinion, provided sufficient and proper safeguards are enacted, a continuance of the emigration would be mutually beneficial to the islanders and the inhabitants of Queensland. This you may rely upon, at any rate, that under no circumstances will I give my sanction or support to any system which approaches to a trade in slaves, or which may be supposed to cloak trickery in the importation of South Sea islanders to Queensland. So far as I am at present informed, opinions differ in reference to the state of Queensland; but it is always advantageous to hear both sides of a question, and I am glad of the opportunity which has been afforded me to-day of ascertaining the views held by the members of two Societies so important as the Aborigines Protection Society and the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. With regard to the suggestion which has been made by Mr. Eastwick, I may say that, while it may be found advisable to establish an Admiralty Court for Queensland, the question is one which will have to be settled by the Imperial, and not by the Colonial, Legislature. With reference to the general question, I believe it to be a fact that during the past few months arrange-

ments have been made, by which an agent of the Government will accompany every ship conveying South Sea islanders, whether they be sailing from the islands to Queensland or from the colony to the island with labourers whose period of service has expired, in order that none of the cruelties which have been complained of in the past may occur in the future. I can only repeat, in conclusion, that the subjects which have been brought before my attention shall receive the most anxious consideration, and that I will be no party to anything akin to slavery or to the slave-trade. (Cheers.)

Mr. HUGHES, M.P., addressing Lord Normanby, said: In thanking your Lordship on behalf of the two deputations for the kindness with which you have received them, I must express, most emphatically, our great satisfaction with the concluding sentence of the statement you have just made. (Cheers.)

The deputation then withdrew.

The whole bearing of the noble marquis was as dignified as it was courteous and unpretending; while his last sentence was taken as a solemn pledge, and is recorded as a confident hope:—"I WILL BE NO PARTY TO ANYTHING AKIN TO SLAVERY OR TO THE SLAVE-TRADE."

QUEENSLAND AND FIJI.

At a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, which was held at the Institute of Civil Engineers, in May, Mr. F. W. Chesson read a paper on "The Polynesian Labour question in relation to Queensland and Fiji." Mr. James Youl, in the unavoidable absence of Lord Bury, presided. The lecturer disclaimed any desire to impute the practice of slavery to the colony of Queensland, but he pointed out numerous reforms which he considered indispensable to the satisfactory working of the system, and declared that as an official machinery had been established for the introduction of underpaid and uncivilised labourers into the colony, the subject ought to be looked at from the standpoint of the European emigrant. He especially animadverted upon the exclusion of heathen testimony from the colonial courts of law, upon the disproportion of the sexes, the want of qualified interpreters, and the absence of adequate guarantees against kidnapping and other outrages in the islands from which the labourers were brought. He quoted from the dispatches of Captain Palmer, of Her Majesty's ship *Rosario*, and from other documents, to show that the slave-trade really existed in the South Seas, and that there was especial

danger of Fiji becoming a nest of pirates. He therefore advocated the annexation of these islands to New South Wales, or the establishment over them of a British Protectorate, in the manner proposed by the respectable European inhabitants and the native chiefs. He wished it to be understood that he was solely responsible for the views he had expressed.—Mr. Archer, the Agent-General for Queensland, explained the nature of the Polynesian Labourers Act, and contended that its provisions were fairly carried out.—The Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M.P., said that, however the natives might be treated in Queensland, large numbers of them were undoubtedly collected by fraud and violence, and he twitted Mr. Archer with the fact that his predecessor had resigned because of his opposition to the traffic.—Mr. Whalley, M.P., defended the colony.—Sir Robert Mackenzie dwelt on the advantages of the emigration to the natives of Polynesia, expatiated on their good treatment in the colony, and characterised those among the colonists who opposed the introduction of this class of labourers as seekers after notoriety.—The Rev. T. Phillips, of the Anti-Slavery Society, intimated that a large body of evidence establishing the existence of the slave-trade in the Pacific would be shortly laid before the public.—Mr. Edward Wilson urged that Queensland ought not to be made responsible for the misconduct of others.—The Hon. E. Lyulph Stanley remarked that, although the system in Queensland might not be slavery, it was certainly not free labour.—The Chairman expressed his opinion that justice to Queensland rendered it necessary that they should be on their guard against statements which had been evidently carefully picked out and collated; but, at the same time, he approved of the lecturer's views with respect to Fiji. He doubted, however, whether the paper should have been read before that Society. The proceedings then terminated.—*Daily News*.

LADIES' NEGRO'S FRIEND SOCIETY.

(From the *Birmingham Daily Post*,
May 6th, 1871.)

THE forty-sixth annual meeting of the Ladies' Negro's Friend Society was held at Mrs. Joseph Sturge's, Wheeley's Road, yesterday. Mrs. E. Sturge (of Charlbury, Oxon), the president of the Society, occupied the chair, and there was a large attendance of ladies. Amongst the visitors present were the Rev. Mr. Lea, a missionary from Jamaica, and Mrs. Lea.

The financial position of the Society showed that the balance in hand on the

legacy account had been reduced from £71 14s. 7d. to £43 14s. 7d. On the general account for 1870, the receipts amounted to £159 10s. 6d. with a balance in hand of £231 0s. 6d.

The annual report, of which the following is an abstract, was read by the President :— It appeared that there had been no diminution of the fraudulent practices by which the colonists in Queensland obtained labourers from the Polynesian Islands. Were Englishmen to be judged by these acts, it might be said that the charter of freedom which they were supposed to uphold for all peoples and races was but a name. A late account stated that on the arrival of two vessels in Brisbane, in August last, it was found that the form of agreement with those on board had been signed only by the mate of the vessel, instead of a consul, an English resident, or head interpreter. Measures had been taken by the Anti-Slavery Society to obtain all the reliable information possible from every station in the Pacific where either European consuls or missionaries were residing, with the view to present the facts connected with the traffic before the Governor or Parliament. Other general aspects of the cause were referred to, and in dealing with the Society's object in advancing the work of education in Jamaica, and rendering help and support to the missionaries, the Committee quoted the following extract from the Government Inspector's report :— “There has been a general and decided advance in the work of common school education, although the extent of it is comparatively small in view of the wide field of improvement that has yet to be traversed before the education of the people can be considered completely successful.” Upon industrial schools the following observations occurred :—“Many managers see clearly the desirability of having some industrial pursuits taught in their schools, but the chief hindrances seem to be the objections of the parents, who say that they do not send their children to learn to work but to learn the book. Besides, they still retain a great deal of the old antipathy to labour, especially agricultural, arising out of the degraded associations attached to it from the days of slavery. Hence a strong desire exists among the humblest labourers that their children should be clerks or ministers, and above the necessity of using the despised cutlass and hoe.” A lively interest had been awakened on the subject of popular education in Jamaica, and this Society had with pleasure given donations to the Day School Society originated by the Baptist denomination. Encouraging extracts from reports with reference to the process of the work and the Government

educational scheme were quoted. It had been learnt that the education of the girls was much below that of the boys, and the Society had aided an exemplary teacher from Sussex to devote herself especially to the instruction of those rising into womanhood. The report concluded by setting forth the necessity of the continuance of the Anti-Slavery Society, as expressed by Professor Sheldon Amos, in a paper read at the last meeting of the Social Science Association on “Coolie Immigration.”

Mr. LEA said he should not like the Ladies' Negro's Friend Society to endorse the sneer in the Government Inspector's report with regard to the unwillingness of the people of Jamaica to engage in industrial pursuits, and their desire to make their children clerks or ministers. Even if it were true, he did not see anything wrong in it; but it was not true. The negroes disliked slavery, and they would not work for 1s. a day, when they could earn 5s. on their own ground. It seemed strange that a man with his eyes open should say of the people that “they retain their old antipathy to labour, especially agricultural,” when there were 60,000 agricultural labourers holding from 20 to 50 acres of land of their own, and cultivating them.

A LADY remarked that the people had not an antipathy to labour, but to labour without pay.

The report was adopted, and ordered to be printed and circulated.

The Rev. Mr. LEA (nephew of the “Lion-hearted” William Knibb) then addressed the meeting on the result of missionary work in Jamaica. There were now in Jamaica 82 European missionaries, with their wives and families, 26 teachers, and 21 schoolmistresses, the schools being taught on the British system. Jamaica had only been an English colony 200 years, and missionaries had laboured there but 57 years. Upwards of 140 schools had been built, 108 of which were actively at work, and more than 60,000 scholars had passed through the Baptist schools alone. £4,050 was spent in education last year, one-half of which was raised in the island, and the other half was contributed by friends in Great Britain. A greater amount, however, would be required next year. Since 1814, upwards of £100,000 had been expended by the Society for educational purposes. The Society now managed more than one-fourth of the school work of the entire island. The whole of the operations were supported by voluntary effort, although, during the past year, a few of the schools had received Government aid on results. Mr. Lea then spoke of the growing prosperity of Jamaica, of the dissemination of

healthy literature amongst the people, and the establishment of three large churches in Morant Bay, Prospect Bay, and Monklands since the insurrection of 1865. There were also 8 preaching-stations, with 600 acknowledged members of the Society, while 1,700 adults were brought under the influence of religious and secular teaching. Mr. Lea, in conclusion, referred to the good results which had followed the disestablishment of the Episcopal Church in the island, and to the marvellous decrease of crime since 1865.

Satisfaction was expressed at the long extracts from Blue-books which appeared in the *Daily Post* relating to the East African Slave-trade, and it was hoped that the question would continue to receive the attention of the editors of the Birmingham papers.

An address to the Queen of Spain on the subject of negro emancipation in Cuba and Porto Rico was adopted.

The proceedings then terminated.

PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, April 3.

WEST AFRICA.

Colonel BERESFORD asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention had been called to a recent number of the *West African Times*, in which it was alleged that his statement with regard to the defraying from Imperial funds of the expenses of the steamer on the West African coast was incorrect, and that the burden was actually borne by colonial revenues.

Mr. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN : This is a matter of personal explanation. My attention has been drawn to the newspaper in question. It is good enough to charge me with wilful misrepresentation, and it goes on to say that I was ill-informed, and that I made loose statements to the Committee. (A laugh.) My statement was in every respect strictly accurate. It is true that a sum of £5,000 does appear in the estimates of Sierra Leone for the colonial steamer, and so also does £3,500 for governor's salary, but, if the editor had exercised a little ordinary intelligence, he would have seen that both these sums appear under the head of revenue, and not expenditure. (Laughter.)

Monday, May 19.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN DIAMOND FIELDS.

Mr. RAIKES asked the Under-Secretary for the Colonies what information had been

received by Her Majesty's Government regarding the claims put forward by the Orange Free State to the South African diamond fields. Whether the rumour was true that the Boers were marching with a large hostile force to demand from each digger a sum of money as an acknowledgment of their alleged rights, and what measures had been taken to prevent hostilities.

Mr. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN said : Sir Henry Barkley, shortly after he arrived at the colony, visited the diamond fields and endeavoured to persuade the rival chiefs to submit their claims to arbitration ; but President Brand, of the Orange Free State, felt some difficulty in the matter. After Sir Henry Barkley quitted the diamond fields, he heard that a large force of Boers had been marched into and were occupying the country. He immediately addressed a strong letter of remonstrance to President Brand, and ordered a body of mounted police to march to the frontier for the protection of British subjects. The latest intelligence from Sir H. Barkley was up to the 28th of March, when he said he had received a letter from President Brand, stating that the Boers had only been marched into the territory to protect rights in the event of certain contingencies, and that he intended to lay the whole matter before the local legislature. Sir H. Barkley added that he did not think there was any risk of war. In consideration of the great number of British subjects who were already at the diamond fields, and the constant increase of their numbers, there was an absolute necessity for the establishment of some settled form of government, and a strong wish had been expressed that the British sovereignty should be extended over the whole settlement, and Government had advised Her Majesty to accept this proposal, on condition that the Cape authorities would accept the responsibility of governing the territory.

Monday, June 5.

EAST AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

In answer to Mr. KINNAIRD, Lord ENFIELD stated that negotiations had been entered into by the Government with the Sultan of Zanzibar for the suppression of the East African Slave-trade. There would be no objection to laying the correspondence before Parliament, except that portion of it which was departmental.

Monday, June 19.

SHIPMENT OF COOLIES AT MACAO.

In answer to Sir J. LAWRENCE,

Mr. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN said : The hon. gentleman has called attention to a

subject of considerable importance. It involves a legal question which I am not competent to solve, but I will state to the House the bare facts of the case. In January last a Chinese coolie was arrested at Hongkong, charged with piracy and murder committed on board a French vessel, *La Nouvelle Pénélope*. This vessel had been employed in what is called the Coolie Immigration Service, and had on board several hundred coolies, shipped at the Chinese port of Macao, of whom it was alleged about 100 had been kidnapped. It was not pretended that the prisoner was kidnapped, for, in fact, he pleaded an *alibi*, but was recognised as one of the ringleaders of the party which overpowered the crew of the vessel and murdered the captain and eight seamen. The Chief Justice of Hongkong directed this man to be discharged upon a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, the main ground of his decision being that persons about to be made slaves had a right to recover their liberty if they could, and that in so doing he had committed no offence over which the Courts of Hongkong had jurisdiction. The Governor, however, upon an information for piracy laid by the Attorney-General under an ordinance in force in the colony, ordered his re-arrest and committal for trial, and the Chief Justice again ordered his discharge. Under these circumstances, the Governor telegraphed home, the opinion of the law officers of the Crown has been taken, and that opinion is to the effect that the crime charged against the prisoner is a crime against the common law of nations, and that he was rightfully arrested, and should be brought to trial for the same.

In reply to Sir J. LAWRENCE,

Lord ENFIELD said : Reports have at different times reached Her Majesty's Government of irregular practices at Macao in regard to the collection and shipment of coolies, and they have brought the same under the notice of the Portuguese Government, who have taken steps, through the Governor of Macao, for their correction, by framing a code of regulations for the engagement and shipment of coolies, which, it is to be hoped, may prevent the repetition of such abuses. With respect to the French Government, no recent communications have passed on the subject of coolie emigration. With regard to the correspondence referred to by the hon. baronet, such portions of it shall be presented as will not involve any breach of official or international etiquette.

Friday, June 30.

THE EAST AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

Mr. GILPIN, on rising to call attention to the Slave-trade Papers recently laid upon

the table of the House, said his task would be considerably lightened by the fact that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had assented to the motion for a Select Committee, which he should presently move. He found in a report presented some time ago to Lord Clarendon, that, between 1862 and 1867, 97,000 slaves were exported from the dominions of the Consul of Zanzibar, and that for every slave brought to the coast, at least five additional human lives were sacrificed, making a total sacrifice of 582,000 in five years, the English Government being to no small extent responsible for the evil. The hon. member proceeded to read a large number of extracts, in order to show how extensively the trade was carried on. He dwelt on the importance of maintaining in Zanzibar such men as Dr. Kirk, whose services had been most valuable ; condemned the complicity of the Portuguese Government, to which Dr. Livingstone had borne witness, and urged Her Majesty's Government to use their influence with the Government of Portugal to put a stop to the traffic. As for the best course to be taken, that would be a subject of consideration for the Committee, if appointed. In his opinion, we had enough of information, without any further inquiry, to induce the Government to revise the treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar. But if the Government thought more information was wanted, and that the matter would be better met by the appointment of a Committee, he would offer no objection. The hon. gentleman concluded by moving "That a humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that she will be graciously pleased to issue instructions for the negotiation of such a treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar as will relieve Her Majesty's Government from existing arrangements by which they are made parties to the slave-trade, and that she will use all lawful means to procure the suppression of the slave-traffic, and all export of slaves from the East Coast of Africa."

Mr. KINNAIRD, in seconding the motion, said that the first point connected with this reviving slave-trade was that it was carried on under a treaty for which we were responsible as a nation. How, he asked, could we deliver lectures to other nations on the iniquities of the slave-traffic when we ourselves maintained a treaty sanctioning it ? For very shame's sake we ought to wash our hands of the matter. The second point was that it was impossible, even if it were desirable, to keep the trade within the limits of the treaty. It was extending and must extend, as appeared from the investigations of the Committee which sat upon the question. Were we, therefore, to witness the failure of our past efforts to ex-

tinguish Slavery, which had been successful on the West Coast, by allowing it to proceed on the East Coast of Africa? Let the House consider the awful amount of human suffering involved in an annual export of 20,000 slaves, representing, perhaps, 200,000 human beings, dragged from their homes, nine out of ten dying or murdered by the way, and leaving that residue of 20,000 which he had mentioned for sale. We by treaty had our hands tied within the limits of the Zanzibar waters, while we maintain a police outside. He believed it to be practicable to put an end to the treaty, and with the treaty eventually to terminate the traffic, and that a heavy responsibility rested upon the Government and upon the country to do that. Meanwhile, we have the duty resting upon us of watching over the interests of the slaves we had freed, many of whom were simple children, incapable of taking care of themselves. The total stoppage of the traffic should be our first object, and in the interim we were morally bound to protect and, if children, to educate those whom we had volunteered to set free. He would earnestly appeal in the name of humanity to this House to sustain the Government in ridding us nationally of complicity in the crimes committed, and thus preparing the way for legitimate commerce. He trusted that we might be permitted ere long to welcome home that distinguished African traveller, whose personal influence would then be exerted to carry out that object for which he had already risked his own life, thus forwarding the internal regeneration of Africa after centuries of cruel wrong inflicted by avaricious men, to whom life was as a worthless bauble if it was the life of a black man. He concluded by stating, for the information of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that in 1851, Lagos, the last hold of the slave-trade on the West Coast of Africa, was taken and became a British possession, lawful trade was established, and the attention of the natives having been called to the commercial value of the natural produce of the country by those who had once themselves been slaves, Lagos soon rivalled and outstripped Sierra Leone. The value of its trade was shown by the following figures: — Imports, £416,860; exports, £669,455; revenue, £33,220; the chief items being cotton, £76,956; palm oil and kernels, £542,927; Benni seed and nuts, £10,583.

Mr. WHALLEY stated that the first thing to be done towards preventing the cruelty complained of was to bring the district under our dominion. If this were done we could take action consistently; but he hoped the Government would not be led

by the benevolent enthusiasm of the hon. member for Northampton into proceedings against the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER was glad attention had been called to this subject; and hoped the result of the deliberations of the Committee would be the suppression of the slave-trade in that part of the world.

Lord ENFIELD admitted the importance of the question; and, speaking personally as well as officially, he sympathised greatly with the object of his hon. friend, and hoped this inhuman traffic would cease on the East Coast of Africa, as it had ceased elsewhere. A somewhat complicated series of treaties existed between this country and Zanzibar, dating as far back as 1822, when permission was given to the British Government to have an agent at Zanzibar to watch the traffic. Since that time various treaties had been signed, tending more or less to the restriction of the trade; but he could not deny that the number of slaves annually shipped had terribly exceeded in amount that which might have been hoped and expected. (Hear, hear.) There was what was called both a legal and an illegal traffic in slaves; and the Committee appointed by Lord Clarendon had made a variety of recommendations with a view to urge upon the Sultan the abolition of both kinds of traffic, to prepare the minds of the natives for its abolition; pending that time to place the traffic under the strictest supervision; to encourage the employment and education of freed slaves; and lay down more careful regulations for the proceedings of our cruisers. He should have deprecated the assent of the House to the motion; but on the part of the Government he was willing to assent to the appointment of a Committee to consider in what way, having due regard to our treaty obligations with the Sultan, means might be found of terminating this inhuman traffic. He was not sure whether at this late period of the session his hon. friend would desire the appointment of the Committee, or defer its appointment till next year; but if his hon. friend would withdraw his motion, a Committee should be appointed to inquire into the whole question.

Mr. RUSSELL GURNEY agreed that a Committee would be the best way of treating this question; but thought it hardly desirable that the subject should stand over till next session. The information wanted was all within reach of the Foreign Office; and, as a short time would suffice to terminate the inquiry, a full investigation might be made even at this late period of the session.

Lord ENFIELD explained that he left it entirely to the discretion of his hon. friend whether the Committee should be appointed

this year or next. In either case he was quite ready to co-operate with his hon. friend. (Hear, hear.)

The motion was then withdrawn.

THE SLAVE-TRADE PAPERS.

CLASS A.—AFRICA (CONSULAR)—BIGHTS OF BENIN AND BIAFRA.

"Are the Blacks or Whites the Superior Race?"

In Class A., under the head of Africa (Consular), Bights of Benin and Biafra, there is a long correspondence between Consul Livingstone and the Foreign Office, chiefly respecting wars between native kings, chiefs, &c., which stopped trade and led to other evil results. One of the most lamentable features of the correspondence is recorded thus by Mr. Livingstone:—“English traders in Bonny and Opobo have furnished the rival chiefs with guns, shot, and powder, as required, until war materials are a drug in the Opobo market, and doubtless also in the Bonny White traders in both markets have sought only their own selfish interests, reckless of all others. . . . Mr. Chetham, of Boning, and others, could not conceal their annoyance on hearing that both sides had heartily agreed to arbitration, and even to a truce, to both of which they started all kinds of objections.” Referring, in a letter dated Fernando Po, Aug. 30, 1870, to a strike of Benin agents, with a view to lower the price of oil, Mr. Livingstone says: “Native traders are united, and almost always win. The whites cannot trust one another, and lose, and some begin to doubt whether the whites are the superior race.”

AN ALMOST SACRED “STICK OF OFFICE.”

At the request of Mr. Livingstone an official stick, something like a walking-cane, 4½ ft. in length, with a silverhead, royal arms, and a crown, was sent to the Chief Alvanoni, son of Queen Dodo, and all the chiefs and gentlemen of the war, Benin being in his favour; and promising to aid him in maintaining the peace of the river. Great expectations are cherished as to the value and influence of the stick, which is held to be almost sacred.

Mr. Livingstone is now in this country, on leave of absence on account of ill-health.

LOSSES OF BRITISH SUBJECTS IN THE NUNEZ RIVER.

A correspondence between the late Lord Clarendon, Lord Lyons, Count Daru and others, relates to losses alleged to have been caused by the bombardment of the town of Bokah, in the Rio Nunez River, by order of Lieutenant Cauvin, the French commandant.

The evidence is very contradictory. Up to the 29th March last year the French Government resisted a claim made for compensation, and there the matter rests at present.

SWITZERLAND AND ASHANTEE.

Two Swiss missionaries, belonging to the Evangelical Missionary Society of Basle, were captured by the Ashantees, at Anum. By the latest accounts, Earl Granville says, they were alive and safe in a village near Kumaran, and hopes were entertained of their being delivered from captivity.

REPORTS FROM NAVAL OFFICERS.—WEST COAST OF AFRICA.

THE SOUTH COAST.

Commodore Dowell reports that everything was quiet on the South coast, and no attempt had been made to revive the Slave-trade.

THE NIGER EXPEDITION.

In the Upper River the trade is stopped, as there is a religious war; and there is small chance of reconciling the belligerents.

UNSETTLED STATE OF AFFAIRS ON THE GOLD COAST.

Commodore Dowell reports that affairs on the Gold Coast are in an unsettled state, there being a body of 300 Ashantees at Elmina, who, with the Elminos, are continually having petty fights with the Fantees; that the Dutch are in a more unsettled position than ever with the Commendales and other tribes to the westward, ceded to them by the Convention of March, 1865; that everything is quiet in Cape Coast and the other English forts, and that no disturbances are anticipated.

DISCONTINUANCE OF THE SLAVE BLOCKADE.

The Commodore further states, “as their lordships have authorised me to discontinue the slave blockade on the West Coast of Africa, the squadron now stationed on the coast is fully able to perform the duties required of it, viz. the protection of legitimate trade, and the maintenance of a certain supervision on the coast to prevent the revival of the Slave-trade, and also to afford support and assistance to our settlements.”

ALLEGED LANDING IN CUBA OF SLAVES FROM THE EAST COAST.

In a letter, dated “Rattlesnake, at sea, Feb. 15, 1870,” Commodore Dowell, referring to a letter from the Secretary to the Admiralty, quoting one from the Consul-General at the Havana, stating that reports had been circulated of the landing, in the early part of the previous June, of two cargoes of slaves in Cuba, from the East Coast of Africa: that he had caused inquiries to be made; that the supposed shipment, if made at all, must have been made to the northward of Sierra Leone; that while on the coast, between the last-named place and the Gambia, there may still be Portuguese who would be willing to run a cargo of

slaves if an opportunity offered, he had made particular inquiries, and was perfectly satisfied that no slaves had been shipped from thence. No slaves were landed in Cuba, unless from the East Coast."

A WHOLESMOME INTENTION.

The Commodore thus concludes his letter : " It is my intention, however, to send a cruiser to visit the whole of the coast between Sierra Leone and the Gambia before the month of May, to ascertain if there is any indication of a revival of the Slave-trade."

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON THE EAST AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

This subject is treated on elsewhere in this number of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

MIXED COMMISSION COURTS.

" No negroes have been emancipated by the decree of the Mixed Commission at the Cape of Good Hope since its establishment. That and the Courts at London and New York have been broken up."

HAVANA.

This class merely contains two formal notes, from Mr. Consul-General Dunlop, stating that no case had been brought before him for adjudication during the year.

THE "LIBERTOS."

Commissioner Vredenberg, writing from Loanda, June 12, 1869, in reference to the decree abolishing the state of Slavery in all the Portuguese dominions, that the decree changes the name of "Slave" into that of "Liberto," but no more; and that, from a variety of circumstances named, the "ten years' service consequently becomes, in the great majority of cases, forced and unremunerated service for life." Sir Charles Murray, the British Ambassador at Lisbon, brought Commissioner Vredenberg's views before the Portuguese Government; that Government responded in a very lengthy explanation, in reference to which Earl Granville replied to the latter, that the British Government felt relieved as to its apprehensions on the point; but Mr. Commissioner Vredenberg, after attentively reading the same document, saw no reason to alter or modify the views and opinions expressed in his report. We regret to add, that Mr. Vredenberg's Court has been broken up. He was a faithful servant; and retires on a pension.

SLAVE-TRADE PAPERS CLASS (B).

ARAB SLAVE-TRADERS AND THE FRENCH FLAG.

The correspondence with the French Government—first with Count Daru, under the Empire, and last with Mons. Jules Favre, under the Republic—on the assumption of the French flag by native craft on the East Coast of Africa—a flag, it is presumed, abused to protect the Slave-trade—leaves this matter still undetermined; but it demands prompt and just treatment—not only as a matter of principle, but from the rapid increase in their number.

VIOLATION OF SLAVE-TRADE TREATIES IN MADAGASCAR.

Mr. Consul Pakenham reports the case of five negroes who escaped from Madagascar to H.M. ship *Dryad*. It turned out that four of these negroes had been introduced from Mozambique into Madagascar. These four were liberated, and conveyed to Mauritius. Another case referred to by the Consul is that of a liberated African female slave, who was forcibly carried off from the verandah of his office by certain Hova officers and soldiers. They were, however, compelled to return her, and publicly to apologise: the officers to be punished. Earl Clarendon expressed his approval of these proceedings.

THE ADDRESS OF THE PARIS INTERNATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION TO THE QUEEN OF MADAGASCAR.

This document, and the reply of the Malagasy Prime Minister, have already appeared in our columns. Consul Pakenham tells us how he sent the former privately to the Prime Minister, with a note. Earl Granville approved of the Consul's course of conduct; and in expressing this, forwarded to the Consul two copies of the Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the question of the East African Slave-trade—a painful subject dwelt on in other columns.

PORUGAL.

REBUKE TO CAPTAIN SULLIVAN.

Captain Sullivan reported, under date, "Daphne, Bombay, Oct. 11, 1869," "that he had received some negroes on board from Mozambique, one of whom had a large iron bar, 18½ inches long, doubled round his leg," which he said his master had hammered on to his leg for punishment. The Government of Mozambique complained of Captain (then Commander) Sullivan's act; the Portuguese Government complained; and on May 31, Earl Clarendon reported to the Portuguese Government that he had reproved Captain Sullivan for not communicating with the nearest British Consul regarding the said negroes; and forbade a recurrence of similar actions.

THE TERRIBLE EAST AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

The correspondence respecting the Slave-trade on the East Coast of Africa—in which Britain shares the guilt with the Sultan of Zanzibar—is extensive and painfully interesting. Referring to the late Sultan, in connection with the case of a Turkish slave-boy taken to Zanzibar in breach of Art. III. of the Muscat Slave Treaty of Oct. 2nd, 1845, Dr. Kirk said that, " In fact, His Highness, although conscious of the scandal brought home to his own family, had not the courage to draw back, because it affected the supply for the harems of a few of his favourites."

KUTCHEES POSSESSING SLAVES IN ZANZIBAR.

The Kutchees are British subjects, and it is a criminal act for British subjects to trade in

or to hold slaves. In the time of Colonel Rigby, "the whole of the Kutchees and other natives of India established in the Sultan's African dominions were deprived of their slaves, and Colonel Rigby's proceedings received the approval of Her Majesty's Government." The Secretary of India, speaking for the Government of India, 13th June, 1869, suggests that "the Political Agent, while using all legitimate influence in the discouragement of the Slave-trade, should avoid as much as possible the expression of opinions as to purely domestic or household slavery when practised in Zanzibar by Kutchees or others." Well may Mr. Churchill state (Jan. 18th, 1870) that this is "a striking inconvenience arising from the duplex authority under which the affairs of Zanzibar have hitherto been placed."

THE KUTCHEES PREFER THE SULTAN'S RULE, AND WHY?

The Sultan was allowed to take under his protection those natives of Kutch who did not seek British protection; and "since that permission was granted, few Kutchees have applied for British protection, preferring the Sultan's rule, under which they can buy and sell."

MR. CHURCHILL'S OPINION ON THIS POINT.

"In my humble opinion, the less we countenance the holding of slaves by the Kutchees the better; but the difficulty will be the difficulty to conciliate this view with that already taken by the Government of India, and communicated to the Sultan by their Agent."

THE SULTAN'S SISTER AN ILLEGAL SLAVE-TRADER.

The commander of Her Majesty's ship *Star* destroyed certain dhows off Brava and Marka, in Nov. 1868; and particularly one belonging to the Sultan's sister—beyond doubt engaged in the Slave-trade—beyond the place within which the transport of slaves is permitted.

AN UNPLEASANT DUTY.

Mr. Churchill was ordered by the Foreign Office to inform the Sultan that these dhows had been properly captured; but he was to add that "instructions had been recently issued, that, except under very exceptional circumstances, captured dhows should not be destroyed, but brought for adjudication before the proper Vice-Admiralty Court."

LANDING OF LIBERATED AFRICANS AT ZANZIBAR.

The Committee for the suppression of the Slave-trade recommend Zanzibar as a dépôt for freed slaves. Mr. Churchill discusses the matter (Dispatch No. 22, March 7, 1870), to the effect that such freed slaves might possibly be kidnapped to some extent by Northern Arabs; that their liberty would not be in peril as far as Zanzibar is concerned; and concludes that the resolution of the Committee should be allowed to stand as it is.

CERTIFIED ENORMOUS DIMENSIONS OF THE ZANZIBAR SLAVE-TRADE.

The total number of slaves exported during the season amounted to 14,944. To this we must add a considerable number taken away without licence from the coast towns: 11,944 imported into Zanzibar island, were brought in 81 shipments of 147 slaves each on an average. The number apparently left for use in the island is 3,729, of these 2,000 are stolen yearly by the Northern Arabs, or shipped by Zanzibar people without licence. The present annual yearly slave requirements of the town and island are 1,729, while 13,215 are required to supply the Coast and the Arabian Slave-trade together. Mr. Churchill adds,—"The present enormous slave-traffic from this coast is almost entirely owing to the Arabian and Persian Gulf demands. These figures, taken from Arab official documents, may be thoroughly relied on as not exaggerating the number of slaves transported."

CHOLERA.

"Between 15,000 and 20,000 slaves died in Zanzibar during the season of cholera."

THE SULTAN'S UNJUST PARTIALITY.

A transit or import tax is levied at Zanzibar on all goods the growth or produce of the African coast; 5 per cent. is charged on those imported in native dhows under the French flag; while similar produce in English vessels was charged 10 and 15 per cent. Dr. Kirk strongly protested against this inequality. The Sultan, after a long delay, consented to place the English on a level in this respect with the French.

IMPRACTICABLE AND HURTFUL REQUIREMENTS.

Dr. Kirk and Commodore Heath are united in opinion that to send captured dhows suspected of slave-trading to ports of adjudication—not one in a hundred dhows pronounced seaworthy being really so when manned by natives—would allow many cases in which the suspicion of slave-dealing is strong to go free, from the impossibility of bringing them to such ports.

A PAINFUL AND DISGRACEFUL FACT.

The late Earl of Clarendon says in Dispatch No. 31, Foreign Office, June 16, 1870:—"The Sultan of Zanzibar "is now the only sovereign who openly permits the traffic in slaves by sea, with all its attendant horrors, to be carried on in his dominions; and under the cloak of a traffic so legalised the Slave-trade on the East Coast has increased in activity, notwithstanding all the efforts of our cruisers to suppress it;" and this and what follows were to be told to the Sultan, if he hesitated to accept certain proposals, "to supervise, regulate, control, and limit the export of slaves and by gradually substituting free for slave labour, eventually to abolish it entirely:—that if he refused his further assistance and co-operation, without which all our efforts are almost useless, "you will claim the fulfil-

ment of the promises that both he and his father have repeatedly made to us." It is a sin and scandal that their non-fulfilment should have been so long tolerated.

A very mild note to the Emperor was enclosed in this dispatch.

A DHOW OF DEATH.

Dr. Kirk reports, under date of May 20, 1870, "that a dhow had reached the custom-house at Zanzibar, after only three days' voyage from Quiloa, where 277 slaves were shipped under the usual customs warrant; no supply of food or water was provided; and, cholera breaking out on board, 90 slaves died before the dhow reached Zanzibar. This occurred at a season at which the Arabs could carry as many slaves as they pleased without being liable to capture."

ATROCIOUS CRUELTY.

It is believed to have been from this dhow that "a slave woman had been thrown on the beach for the purpose of escaping the customs duty—it being thought that the chances of her recovery were small."

WHO IS TO DECIDE?

Earl Granville conveyed to Consul Churchill, Sept. 23, 1870, with approval, Mr. Rothery's exposition of the law of this country regarding the question of the forfeiture of cargoes found on board vessels condemned for being engaged in the Slave-trade. To render a party liable, "he must be shown to have had a *guilty knowledge* of the object of the vessel; that the goods had been shipped by him, *wilfully and knowingly*, for the purpose of being so employed."

REPORTS FROM NAVAL OFFICERS.

PORTUGUESE ACTION.

Commander De Kantzow, whose sailing orders direct him to cruise between the southern limit of the Sultan of Zanzibar's dominions and Mozambique, for the suppression of the Slave-trade, reports, Oct. 1, 1870, that "the Portuguese authorities have given direction to their armed dhows, in good faith, to suppress slave-dealing; that the proclamation of the Portuguese Government, abolishing the status of Slavery in her colonies, is a deathblow to the revival of the Slave-trade there."

CONVICT SLAVE-TRADERS.

To the southward of Mozambique the Commander is informed slaves are still shipped to Madagascar in small Arab dhows; the worst class of Portuguese convicts and criminals from the Mozambique being still engaged in slave-trading, jointly with the Arabs, in the slave-holding districts of the Nyosta and other slave-hunting grounds.

QUILOA KIONIYA THE GREAT SLAVE-MART.

"Quiloa Kioniya is the great mart of the Slave-trade here, and the grand route and highway from the interior and the slave-hunting grounds." He reports—

"QUILOA AND ZANZIBAR FULL OF SLAVES: their prices high, and the trade brisk: 25 dols. for an adult male, 17 for a growing lad, and women in proportion to usefulness, age, &c. Zanzibar Slave-market has been kept full this year with slaves from the interior of Africa."

ALARM OF THE ARABS.

This has arisen from the magnitude of the captures by the English cruisers the year before; but slaves were smuggled in large numbers. The Matipi dhows at anchor were found gutted and completely cleared out, to afford no evidence of guilt; still, hundreds were secretly stored, and camels were sent up the coast by the slaveholders, to warn their friends of the danger of capture by the commander. Still he had been successful in seizing a number of dhows—some with a considerable number of slaves on board.

THE SLAVE-TRADE: ITS CAPTURES AND ACCOMPLICES.

Commodore Sir L. Heath reports that during 1869 thirty-two dhows had been captured, and 1,117 slaves liberated. "In a slaving dhow recently captured were found numerous letters showing that persons of the highest position in Zanzibar society were interested in the cargo."

DECREASE IN THE MOZAMBIQUE CHANNEL.

"This has decreased considerably," the Commodore thinks.

REPORTS OF VICE-ADMIRALTY COURTS UNJUST.

He complains that two of these reports, forwarded to him contain—"one, most unfounded statements; and the second, most unjustifiable and uncalled-for imputations against the general conduct of officers in command on this station."

NEW INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE GUIDANCE OF NAVAL OFFICERS.

"On the 6th November their Lordships issued 'Instructions for the Guidance of Naval Officers employed in the Suppression of the Slave-trade.' Those instructions forbid the detaining of vessels having slaves on board, if there are attendant circumstances showing that the slaves are not being transported for the purpose of being sold as slaves; and there is added, as an example of the nature of those circumstances: 'Where the slaves found on board are very few in number, are unconfined, and appear to be on board for the purpose of loading or working the ship or attending upon the master or the passengers, and there is no other evidence that the vessel is engaged in, or equipped for, the Slave-trade.'"

THE MARITIME AND DOMESTIC SLAVE-TRADE VISIBLY CONNECTED.

"I believe that, just as it is said a drunkard can only be cured by total abstinence, so the Slave-trade by sea can only be put down, if at all, by a rigid forbidding of the carrying to sea of any slaves of any description. As I have

before remarked, even what is called a domestic slave is not only a saleable article, but an article which is very often sold; and the return of those embarked to the port they originally left depends solely upon whether or no a good offer has been made for them at the ports they have visited in the interval. I attach (Inclosure No. 2) depositions made before me personally by some of the slaves captured by Her Majesty's ship *Forte*, as showing how numerous are the domestic slaves carried to sea for sale."

ARAB SLAVERS WILL CHANGE THEIR TACTICS.

"As to the other class of slaves, namely, those purchased and shipped with the direct intention of resale in other countries, I have to express my fears that, so soon as the nature of these instructions becomes known to the Arab traders, they will change their present tactics, and send forward small shipments in numerous vessels, instead of full cargoes, in a smaller number."

"THEIR LORDSHIP'S DISPLEASURE" WITH OUR NAVAL OFFICERS.

"To prove the real character of these slaves, and the intention with which they are embarked will, under these circumstances, be very difficult; and their Lordships' circular shows so much displeasure as to the past, and is so threatening as to the future, that few officers in command will take any risk in the matter. I trust their Lordships will not think me disrespectful in thus stating my views of the probable effect of their recent circular."

THE MOST EFFECTUAL STEP TO SUPPRESS THE EAST AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

"I have but to add that a year's further experience has confirmed me in the impressions which I have before reported as to the inefficiency of all that England has as yet done with the intention of suppressing the East African Slave-trade. I believe still, as I believed when I made my last year's report, that the most effectual step which could be taken, as also the most economical, would be to purchase the sovereignty of the Island of Zanzibar, where there are already 3,000 or 4,000 Banyans and Hendis, being the most industrious and well-to-do portion of the population, all owing allegiance to the British Crown, and all under the jurisdiction of the British Consul. The Sultan has built a palace at Darra Salaam, possibly with the notion that, sooner or later, he will have to retire to his dominions on the mainland."

Commodore Sir L. Heath furnishes with the report, from which the foregoing particulars are extracted, a return of thirty-two vessels captured during the year ending December 31, 1869, with extracts from depositions made by slaves captured by H. M. ship *Forte*.

MADAGASCAR.

Commander Colomb, under date of "Dryad, Bombay, December 31, 1869," details interesting proceedings, showing how the town of Maganga abounded in Mozambique, who had

been landed and sold in breach of the 11th article of the Treaty of 1865, and that the Governor and other Madagascar subjects were involved in the guilt thereof.

"MOZAMBIQUE A HUGE SLAVE-MARKET."

Commander Sullivan, of H. M. ship *Daphne*, in a letter dated Flensburg, Falmouth, March 24, 1870, besides furnishing particulars respecting negroes who had taken refuge on board his ship, and others who had been refused admission to the *Star*, &c. from Mozambique, adds: "Whatever the Portuguese authorities may say, Slavery exists in the very worst form in that colony. The slavery that exists among the Arabs is as nothing compared with that which exists among them. The Arabs treat them as one of their family often, but with the Portuguese their lives are practically at the disposal of their owner, who, in most cases, is a half-caste himself; several instances of cruelty were reported to me by our interpreter, who had been nearly twenty years in our service on that coast, and in confirmation of this statement I would refer you to the narrative of Mr. Young, who was sent in search of Dr. Livingstone. Mozambique is a huge slave-market, as Dr. Kirk and others can prove; we always found it filled with negro slaves, and if we had wished it, or given any further encouragement, we might have filled the ship with fugitives, for they might be seen in crowds on the beach watching their opportunity to escape the vigilance of the police or soldiers."

OUR HOME AUTHORITIES AND COMMANDER SULLIVAN.

There are letters respecting Commander Sullivan's act above referred to which will surprise and grieve our readers: the Lords of the Admiralty proposed to try him by Court-martial; and did pass a minute disapproving of his conduct in not having communicated with the nearest British Consular Agent with regard to the negroes who came on board the *Daphne*, &c.

THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE EAST AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

Commodore Sir L. Heath, in Dispatch No. 63, under date of March 25th, 1870, discusses the report above named paragraph by paragraph; and in reply to the Committee's general accusation of "mistakes and improper seizures," states "that 98 cases, involving the fate of 98 dhows, with a total tonnage of 10,667 tons, and carrying a total of 2,214 slaves, have been brought before the Courts at Aden or Zanzibar during the years 1868 and 1869," and that "out of the 98 cases there was but one in which blame was attached to the captors by the Judge."

EFFECT OF THE ACCUSATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE.

The Commodore indignantly answers the Committee, who, in page 82 of their Report, speak of the "alarm and mistrust inspired by the recent proceedings of our cruisers." "This 'alarm and mistrust' exist only in the minds of the slave-traders, who have lost, I am proud

to say, through the efforts of the squadron under my command, upwards of 10,000 tons of their shipping. It is an 'alarm and mistrust' which I should wish to see much increased. I cannot but regret that the Committee should have interspersed throughout their otherwise useful report these accusations, which (having been already dealt with by their Lordships in a Circular Order, which they admit they have seen) could lead to no result except that of still further damping the zeal of officers employed in this unpleasant service, and exciting still further amongst them a feeling that their motives are misunderstood, and that they are unjustly treated."

MORE EFFICIENT AND TRUSTWORTHY INTERPRETERS.

The Secretary to the Admiralty writes from the Foreign Office, June 25, 1870, that "My Lords propose to take steps to obtain in future a more efficient and trustworthy class of interpreters, who are to receive pay at the maximum rate of five shillings per day, but not to share in prizes," save in exceptional cases; a point needing application in other departments. There are some other interesting points in Class B. which we cannot refer to from want of space.

We hope to continue in our next number extracts from the Slave-trade Papers, for which we are now unable to find room.

We have risen from a careful perusal of these harrowing documents with a degree of disappointment, agony, and resolution, which is inexpressible.

Restricted in powers, and discouraged in their work, some of our best officials in those slave-trading and slave-holding regions seem to have lost some patience and almost all hope of witnessing the extinction of the accursed system.

We hope, however, that the Committee of the House of Commons, on the East African Slave-trade may prove the commencement of a new and effective system of British legislative action. We are persuaded that the national sentiment and will on this point are unchanged; and publicity will materially aid in forming and calling forth such an unequivocal expression of this that willing statesmen will be encouraged, and reluctant statesmen be compelled, to take decisive action in the matter.

HON. FRED. DOUGLAS spoke at Washington lately, giving an account of his recent trip to San Domingo, and presenting his views in favour of annexation. Speaking of the absence of caste in the island, he said that in the capital of the United States there was but one church over whose portals was inscribed the glorious motto, "Freedom to worship God without distinction of colour," and that church was the Congregational.

REVIEWS.

Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Treatment of Immigrants in British Guiana. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, June, 1871. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

We have entered on a new phase of history in relation to preodial labour, in our own colonies and elsewhere. With the frightful fall of the negro slave system in the United States of America, notwithstanding the continuance of slavery in Brazil and the Spanish Antilles, it was complacently assumed that the anti-slavery world might disband their forces.

In this spirit, the great anti-slavery societies of the United States ceased to exist. It was at one time a question whether our own Society should not yield to a similar illusion; but many minds thought otherwise, and now it is felt to be impossible.

This Blue-book will startle those who shut their eyes and dreamt that slavery "was not"; and yet even this book has a tone of officialism which is lowering, while its facts are painfully inspiring. It is a monument of industry; but the Appendices referred to in the report, the evidence on which the report is founded, and thoroughly good consulting alphabetical indices, are indispensable.

Mr. Des Vœux's indictment against great numbers of persons in British Guiana was "sweeping." It consisted of 134 paragraphs. It charged sins of commission and omission—of injustice, neglect and cruelty—on planters and officials. He failed as to the form and many of the details of his charges; but the great truths underlying and permeating his paper of allegations have, alas! become only too sadly confirmed and illustrated.

We are greatly indebted to Mr. Des Vœux for making this inquiry necessary by his bill of indictment; to Earl Granville, not only for appointing the Commission, but for the breadth, wisdom and justice of its scope, powers, and objects; and for the composition of the Board. The planters, too, although they objected to one of the Commissioners in a very pettifogging and vulgar manner, accepted the challenge with spirit, and fought to the close of the first campaign with almost unflagging courage; but the war has not ended.

It is worth while to notice three things at the outset. With the termination of formal slavery proper, (1) the planters resolved on securing cheap labour; (2) in carrying that resolution into effect they were scrupulous neither as to the character

or previous occupations of immigrants, or as to the balance of sexes ; and (3) they have by trusting to "hand-to-mouth" legislation, rendered justice, morality, and Christianity next to impossible to the coolies.

One of the most fearful results of the working of this evil system has been to lower the moral tone of the planters, whose ruling idea—primary, paramount, and permanent—is, "to make the thing pay"; and three conclusions, we think, must be arrived at by every impartial person who shall carefully read and ponder this report, and the evidence on which it is founded; viz. 1. That systematic immigration, paid for wholly or in part out of the common treasury of a colony, to compete with and lower the price of native labour, may be most unjust, and must prevent mutual confidence between the employers and the employed. 2. That employers requiring labourers ought to have the power to obtain them, but ought to arrange with them for cost of transit, &c. 3. That, in the absence of an equality as to the number of the sexes, of proper interpreters, of proper education, of just and simple laws, faithfully administered, coolie immigration must prove a commercial and moral failure. How could it be otherwise? Sections IV., V. and VI. of the report are painfully interesting and conclusive in these respects.

We regret that the late period at which the report was issued almost precludes our doing more than make these introductory allusions to it.

The Commissioners—William Edward Frere, Esq., Sir George Young, Bart., and Charles Mitchell, Esq.—have evinced prodigious industry, and have produced an exceedingly valuable document.

They state that the system of recruiting coolies in India has been a break-down; that in British Guiana there has been a great rise of provisions simultaneously with the fall of wages; that the planters have become rich, but that the agricultural labourers have not shared in the growing prosperity of the colony; and this while the sugar crop has in twenty years nearly trebled in value; yet one witness (Mr. Oliver) "startled" the Commissioners, and they believe "surprised some of his fellow-colonists, by the opinion that he gave, founded on considerable experience, that the profits of the sugar industry, taken as a whole, have not, for the last three years, reached three per cent. per annum on the capital employed."

If we may regard Mr. Oliver's opinions as valuable, and he seems to be a clever, intelligent, and experienced man, "a fall of but one penny a pound in the price of sugar would make the best estate in the country lose money."

The Commissioners state that their work was mainly one of "audit," but they offer here and there not merely criticisms and correctives, but weighty suggestions. They glance at the need of a reduction of taxation on the necessities of life; and give as their opinion, that "the tax on rice, of which the coolies pay the bulk, is little to be justified;" and recommend "a reduction, to some extent, of the colonial payment out of the taxes of the colony of the cost of immigrants."

These are suggestive indeed; and this is their general conclusion, as to what they deem essential to the satisfactory continuance of immigration, viz. "The reform, in a liberal spirit, of the Penal and Re-indenture clauses of the Immigrant Labour Law, and the re-organisation of the Immigration Office as a department of the Government, with due powers and responsibilities, and reinforced by uniting to it the medical staff of the estates."

We take this report as a condemnation of the coolie system. We may state, too, that while we have read Mr. Jenkins's admirable papers in *Good Words* with much pleasure and profit, as also Professor Amos's valuable paper on the Coolie Laws, we have before us Mr. ex-Chief Justice Beaumont's book, "The New Slavery: an Account of the Indian and Chinese Immigrants in British Guiana." We had been long looking for the publication of this book, and but for the disastrous fire at Mr. Beaumont's printer's, we should have had it long ago. It is valuable as corroborative testimony; but the work of the Commissioners and Mr. Jenkins's admirable production will, we fear, seriously limit a circulation which otherwise might have been, and deservedly, large and serviceable.

The Commissioners extol the "very good secretary" provided for them by Governor Scott, in British Guiana. We should be wanting alike in justice and courtesy did we not express our high sense of the great ability, diligence, and conscientiousness evinced by Mr. Edward Jenkins, the barrister who represented the Anti-Slavery Society and the Aborigines Protection Society at the sittings of the Commissioners, and in the colony generally, during the proceedings.

Kidnapping in the South Seas; being a Narrative of a Three Months' Cruise of H. M. Ship Rosario. By Captain George Palmer, R.N., F.R.G.S. Edinburgh : Edmonston & Douglas. 1871. 8vo.

This is an admirably written book on a subject of intense interest to all Christians and philanthropists — a subject vitally

affecting our national honour, consistency, and responsibilities.

Captain Palmer writes with directness, clearness, and force. He thus describes the duties assigned to him as Commander of the *Rosario* :—"Having received orders from Commander Lambert to sail for the South Sea Islands, and make inquiry into the kidnapping of natives alleged to be carried on by vessels flying the British flag, I left Sydney on the 4th of March, 1869, for the French Island of New Caledonia."

He afterwards proceeded to Aneiteum, Tanna, Erromanga, and Vaté, New Hebrides, and thence to the Fijis. While the *Rosario* was lying in the harbour of Levuka, a schooner called the *Daphne* arrived, having on board 100 Polynesians; her master, named Daggett; her supercargo, Pritchard. The former produced to Mr. Consul Thurston his papers. The consul, after examining them, pointed out to Captain Palmer that the schooner's clearance was from Brisbane to Tanna and back, and that no mention was made of Fiji.

Further inquiries induced Pritchard to hand to Captain Palmer "several papers, among which were three licences from the Queensland Government to procure fifty natives for settlers in that colony." Captain Palmer proceeds :—

"I then inquired, how it was he did not take the fifty to Brisbane; and why double the number had been brought over to the Fijis? He said that on their arrival at Tanna, with the 100 natives from Banks's group, they had all re-engaged themselves to come to Fiji. I then demanded these re-engagements, and he handed me the papers, when I found they were dated at no particular place; and that the spaces left for that purpose had not been filled up. During this conversation, Mr. Thurston asked the master for his log-book. He went on board and fetched it. On examination, I found that the dates of the so-called engagements did not agree with those of the log: for instance, on the 14th March, the date of the engagements of the first fifty natives for Queensland, the *Daphne* was at sea, steering S.E. On the 9th March, she was at Star Island, where six natives appeared to have been engaged: whereas the log said:—'Obtained about 28 natives this day,' and that she was off Gana Island. Again, on the 14th March, when the re-engagement for the largest number of natives was supposed to be dated at Gana, the ship was at sea, under a double-reefed topsail, with the latitude and longitude given. Neither Daggett nor Pritchard could account for these discrepancies. On further examination, I found that the Queensland licence (form C) was made out in favour of the well-known Ross Lewin. Both Mr. Thurston and myself at first believed this document to be a forgery, as it was inconceivable that the then Colonial

Secretary of that colony, Mr. T. B. Stephens, should not know the character of the man to whom he had given it; but it turned out to be a *bond fide* document nevertheless. It authorised Ross Lewin to get fifty natives for Thomas White, Thomas Wilson, and Robert A. Rankin, of Queensland; and was signed by T. B. Stephens, Colonial Secretary. To the question how he came in possession of it, Pritchard replied they had met Lewin at Tanna, who told them that they could get more for the natives at the Fijis than at Brisbane; and, as the vessel was in debt, they (the owners) thought there would be no harm in bringing them over, as it was all explained to them, and they were willing to come; and that he was only Lewin's agent, who, with Murra, the interpreter, had been left behind in Tanna. I then informed him that neither the licence nor the engagements were, in my opinion, worth the paper they were written on; that I suspected the whole of the papers had been cooked up, as everything about them was irregular from beginning to end; and that I considered it a most extraordinary thing that an English ship should be found in the position of the *Daphne*, namely, with irregular papers—no clearance for the port she comes to, and which is nearly 600 miles dead to windward of the one she ought to be at, and with double the number of natives on board she was allowed. . . . The consul and myself then went on board the *Daphne*, the master and supercargo preceding us. We found her a small schooner of 48 tons register, fitted up precisely like an African slaver, *minus* the irons, with 100 natives on board, who had been brought here from the New Hebrides, having experienced the pleasure of a dead beat to windward for twenty-one days;—they were stark naked, and had not even a mat to lie upon; the shelves were just the same as might be knocked up for a lot of pigs—no bunks or partitions of any sort being fitted;—and yet the vessel was inspected by a Government officer at Queensland! There was no interpreter on board; and Pritchard allowed he could only make them understand a few words. However Mr. Thurston had brought Jemmy with him, in the hope of being able to question the natives, who were squatting about—looking emaciated and frightened. Mr. Thurston put a question to a Loyalty Island native named 'Dick,' who formed one of a boat's crew Ross Lewin had put on board; and as he appeared likely to be communicative, the cook called out something which stopped him, upon which the consul turned to me, and said it was evident we should get no more out of him. We then pulled on shore, and examined more minutely the ship's log, and the so-called engagements; and found still greater discrepancies. This, combined with the fact that there was no interpreter, and Ross Lewin figuring as a principal actor in the whole transaction, determined me to seize the vessel, and land her cargo of human beings, at once, on the suspicion that the vessel, master, supercargo, and crew had been engaged, if not in actual slaving, at the least in a most irregular traffic,

tending to promote and encourage the Slave-trade, in violation of Acts 5 Geo. IV. c. 113, and 6 and 7 Vict. c. 98."

Subsequent chapters abound with graphic descriptions of natural scenery; characteristic portraits of Thakombau and his son Ratu Abel; an amusing scene at the Water Police Court, Sydney, as to what constitutes kidnapping; the trial of the *Daphne* in the Vice-Admiralty Court of New South Wales, with its result; the story of the *Young Australian*, another *passenger* vessel; What is Slavery? the Australian press on the working of the Queensland Polynesian Labour Act of 1868; exploits of the old Sandalwood traders; novel contrivance for filling up a *passenger* vessel by means of a bishop's broken leg, &c.

There are, also, valuable appendices, containing "Letter from Sir Alfred Stephen, C.B., Chief Justice of New South Wales, to Earl Belmore;" Arguments of Counsel and judgment on *Daphne* in Vice-Admiralty Court; Earl Granville's Dispatch to the Governor of Queensland; and Memorial of the citizens of Brisbane to the Honourable the Legislative Assembly of Queensland.

Captain Palmer's book is most interesting in various respects; but will prove especially valuable in opening the eyes of the public to the existence and evils of "Polynesian immigration."

Chief Justice Stephen decided, in the case of the *Daphne*, that "All the *indicia* of a vessel being engaged in a slave-traffic must be thrown out in the case of one engaged in a *legitimate traffic*;" and "he had formed the opinion that the Polynesians found on board were not slaves in any sense of the word, or intended to be dealt with as slaves. The *Daphne* was therefore released."

The Polynesians were, however, forfeited; and the judge gave to Captain Palmer a certificate to the effect that he had "probable cause" for the seizure and prosecution of the *Daphne*. The expenses of the trial came to £179 5s. 5d. which the captain was assured at one time the colony would not permit him to pay; but nevertheless he had to do so, being unsuccessful in establishing his case.

He adds:—"A few months after, however, I had the satisfaction to see by the papers that the First Lord of the Admiralty, in answer to a question put by the Hon. A. Kinnaid, has expressed the approval of Her Majesty's Government of my conduct, by ordering my expenses to be refunded, as well as giving me my promotion."

In a lengthy written judgment, given subsequently to the trial, at the close of which the judge delivered his decision orally, His Honour gives the reasons of his

decision. It is a painful document; far too long for insertion *in extenso*, and scarcely capable of condensation; but the following extracts are very suggestive:—

"It is scarcely necessary to observe, that there is nothing unlawful in engaging labouring men in the South Sea Islands, for purposes of colonisation, and taking them to a British colony or elsewhere, any more than there would be in bringing men with the same object from Germany or Holland. Many reasons of humanity or of policy may make it desirable, and in a high degree, to restrict—possibly, to prohibit—and certainly to regulate, and watch over a traffic so liable to abuse, and so full of danger. But this is a matter for Imperial legislation alone; and the question has more than one aspect. The Queensland Government probably thought that the pursuits of civilised life might be beneficial to these savages, and ultimately to their race, equally as to their employers!

"I censure as strongly as any man the taking of these one hundred natives a voyage of twenty days, cooped up at night in a cabin less than 30 feet by 16 feet; where they lay on shelves, the space between which was 2 feet 9 inches, or above the highest 20 inches only to the deck beams; the result being, in one instance, an injury to the limbs of a lad, apparently 18, that may be incurable. But all this did not constitute the people slaves; and on the evidence before me—there being nothing to contradict that which I have stated, and nothing to show that labourers are, or ever were, dealt with at Ovalau as slaves—my conclusion is that these men were not such, and were not intended to be disposed of as such."

His Honour speaks highly of the arrangements of the Queensland Government in relation to immigrants; but the publication of this excellent work of Captain Palmer's, as well as of the Blue-books extant, will neither add to the reputation of that colony, nor increase its attractiveness to the lovers of British liberty and justice.

We shall hope to make extracts from Captain Palmer's book from time to time. The following is his avowed object in publishing it. That object will be greatly promoted, if the book have the circulation it richly deserves; and all who read it must feel that he is richly entitled to the gratitude of every true Christian, philanthropist, and patriot:—

"The following pages are written with the sole object of exposing the deeds that have been perpetrated among the beautiful islands of the South Pacific by men calling themselves Englishmen, and whose transactions have been unwarrantably carried on under the cover of our glorious old flag. . . . My readers will find ample evidence to show that, although our Government has remonstrated against certain transactions that have for some time disgraced

our name and flag in those seas, the time has arrived when something more must be done."

Our Government has been excessively busy ; but surely they will ere long deal adequately with practices like these, and with laws unite penalties, which ought to be comprehensive and specific enough to prevent, or strongly to punish, those who may dare to set such laws at defiance.

Fiji and the Fijians; by Thomas Williams; and Missionary Labours among the Cannibals, extended; with Notices of Recent Events; by James Calvert. Edited by George Stringer Rowe. London : Hodder & Stoughton, 1870. (Pp. 585.)

Fijian Cotton Culture, and Planters' Guide to the Islands. By W. C. Pechey, M.D. London : Jarrold & Sons, 1871. (12mo. Pp. 108.)

Fiji in 1870; being the Letters of the "Argus" Special Correspondent, with a Complete Map and Gazetteer of the Fijian Archipelago. By H. Britton. Melbourne, 1870. (Pp. 88, 8vo.)

The Rev. J. Calvert's profoundly interesting book has deservedly reached a third edition. Extensively illustrated, as were the former, this edition has, moreover, a valuable supplementary chapter, and a useful alphabetical index. Dr. Pechey refers all persons wishing to know all about a thousand topics fraught with interest in Fiji to Mr. Calvert's book.

These islands and islets—estimated at from 150 to 200 in number, of which about 80 are inhabited—extend over about 40,000 square miles of the South Pacific Ocean, and are situated between the latitudes of 15° 30' and 20° 30' S., and the longitudes of 177° E. and 178° W. The white population is variously estimated at from 2,500 to 3,000, of various nationalities—American and British very greatly preponderating—the latter the more largely : half-castes too being numerous—and amongst the settlers it is alleged are many of the best, and many of the worst possible, characters.

Mr. Calvert's book is a record of Christian missionary labours and successes—forming one of the brightest histories of Wesleyan Methodist faith and enterprise—embracing a period of nearly a quarter of a century of the life of Mr. Calvert.

The other works, although alluding to religion, are such as their titles would suggest.

Mr. Britton took a tour of sixty-four days' duration through the Fiji Islands, in the months of May, June, and July, 1870. "The letters which form the first

portion of the volume were originally published in the *Melbourne Argus*; all were hurriedly written for the press ; and are re-issued without any opportunity having been afforded for revision." The volume, consequently, presents traces of inaccuracy, as to facts, thoughts, and conclusions ; but it is very valuable notwithstanding, containing a large quantity of interesting and useful information.

Dr. Pechey "ventures to publish this Guide to Fiji as the result of his own experience," and adds, "My aim has been to treat of the islands only in their connection with European pursuits." He treats chiefly on Cotton Planting and the Labour Supply. His book is therefore to be judged of in relation mainly to these two subjects ; or rather they are two sides of one subject.

The Rev. Mr. Carter differs greatly in his estimate of the Fijian character, condition, and capabilities, from both the other gentlemen. The former believes that, by the blessing of God on Christian teaching and example, the Fijians may, may have, become noble Christian characters ; but the latter are of opinion that the Fijians are among the lowest of human beings, and are destined to give place to the white man. The doctor's style of thought, sentiment, and feeling, may be judged of from the following :—"The Fijians are a little short of Jews at a bargain ; they would sell their souls without a grunt if they could get anything for them ; but unfortunately such commodities are for the most part valueless in human eyes, except in those of the missionaries." "They are mostly men of immense strength ; and equal to four times the amount of work they perform. . . . Nothing finally destined to pass our lips should ever be touched by a native." They are "pilferers," "sneaks," &c. The journalist is very severe ; but he is more discriminating than the doctor as to their original characteristics ; and the journalist's admissions and implications evince far less of prejudice and injustice than seem to us to be manifested by the medical man.

Both scout the idea that slavery exists amongst the white settlers, yet we have passages of this kind : "Some settlers have become the owners of small islands, and are leading a sort of Robinson Crusoe life with the man Friday multiplied a hundred fold."* "If a settler is fortunate enough to have neighbours, he meets his friends frequently in the evenings, when they are entertained with square gin and eucr."† "Surrounded by his labourers, foreign or Fijian, the planter is a patriarch, with the

* Britton, p. 9.

† Ibid. p 14.

power of life and death over his people, and subject to no law." * "The first settlers and planters in Fiji had no occasion to look further than their own islands for labour to any extent ; at that time nothing more was necessary than to make friends with a chief, and give him what he required to supply you with men. This is no longer the case." "Labour may now be obtained in Fiji from the following sources—from the Fiji Islands themselves, from the New Hebrides, especially Tanna and Sandwich, and from other groups near the line." † We find the following sentences in close connection : "A cry of slavery has been raised against the planters of Fiji. A more unfounded accusation was never made. The system [of engaging hands from the New Hebrides, &c.] is undoubtedly one which is open to great abuse, and there is reason to believe that more than one unscrupulous sea captain has been guilty of what can be regarded as little less than kidnapping."

"The great demand for these labourers presents a strong inducement to unprincipled men to engage in an illegal traffic, and it is necessary that some check should be put to their proceedings." ‡ "The great hope of Fiji in this matter of cheap labour seems to lie in coolie labour from China or India ; but in the absence of any settled Government, it may be objected that no very substantial guarantees of the fulfilment of conditions can be given." §

Dr. Pechey is of opinion that, "before long, Fijian labour will be a thing of the past ; and that, as to the Polynesian trade, there is nothing akin to kidnapping if properly carried on. That most of the labour employed is either Tanna or Fiji, but there are a few Sandwich Islanders, and lately a good many have been brought from the King's Mill group and other islands close to the Equator, and are called collectively line labour." Dr. Pechey impugns the character of Christian ministers and philanthropists bitterly ; yet at the close of the third chapter, p. 60, he lays down a number of conditions constituting the only possible plan that would meet the requirements of the case, embracing respectable men as agents, respectable men to live on the islands, respectable men to accompany the vessels, each man thoroughly conversant with the language of the people, proper certificates, &c. &c., and thus Fiji would be at once free from the disgrace that accompanies the imputation of Slavery. How can this be secured ? Even in our

own colonies we find abuses with this degraded labour of a fearful character, while the white population of Fiji, consisting, according to Mr. Britton, of 2,300 British and 200 chiefly Americans ; the whole native population, not exceeding 130,000, is practically without any governmental protection, laws for the preservation of social order, or a workable political institution of any kind. Fijian laws are imperfect and badly administered ; and the powers of the British Consul, Mr. March, and those of the American Consul, Dr. Brower, are exceedingly limited in character. The desire and efforts of the white settlers, with those of the chief Thackombau, and others, to become allied with our Government, and other efforts to obtain affiliation to America or France, have alike been in vain.

As to this question of Polynesian Slavery, the books named assert much and settle nothing. We have before us autograph letters from missionaries and consuls, and printed documents, in blue-books, pamphlets, newspapers, &c. We have no doubt, amidst the varying testimony named, and that which we have received *viva voce* from men most eminent for piety, station, and influence, in Australia and in the Fijis, that Slavery and the Slave-trade are rife ; and we hope, ere long, to place that evidence, with more, for which we are confidently looking, before the British Government, the British Parliament, and the British people.

To revert to the books named at the head of this article, differing in character and in merit as they do, all are well worth perusal.

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* Britton.

† Pechey, p. 45.

‡ Britton, p. 17.

§ Ibid. p. 19.

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JAMAICA: PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE.

OUR readers are aware that since Jamaica has been governed by Sir J. P. Grant—that is, by an Anglo-Indian, trained rather to govern than to talk—the insolvent colony has become solvent; its last balance-sheet showing a realised surplus of £50,000 a year; that order has become as secure as in England, and that trade has revived; but they are probably not aware that the auction value of sugar estates has *doubled*, that the consumptive New Englanders are beginning to resort to the island for its enchanting climate, and that the Government hopes yet to attract English settlers. Colonists in the Australian sense are not wanted, but land is plentiful, the island can grow anything, and young men with two or three thousand pounds would find that coffee, tea, or cinchona planting pays, as growing wheat never will.—*Spectator*, June 10, 1871.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

OUR contemporary of the *Morning Journal* states "that the Honourable Alexander Heslop has been permitted to retire on a pension of £400 per annum," and that his appointment as Attorney-General "will be filled by some member of the legal profession from England." We regret, in common with all our fellow-colonists, the loss which the island will sustain by the resignation of the honourable gentleman, whose duties have been discharged with strict integrity for several years; and we regret also that there is not a practising lawyer at the bar of Jamaica who is sufficiently experienced and otherwise qualified to be his successor. The situation, we believe, is worth £750 per annum, and we feel confident that general satisfaction would be given if it were offered to, and accepted by, Mr. Phillippe, who is now an official functionary in Sierra Leone. Mr. Phillippe acquired popularity during the latter period of his professional career in his native land; and he would be in every respect a worthy successor to Mr. Heslop, as he is thoroughly acquainted with the laws of England and of his country, possesses a spotless reputation, and is known to be a gentleman of highly-cultivated mind and refined manners.—*Falmouth Post*.

ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY.

On Wednesday evening, June 24th, the Thirty-fifth Annual Meeting of this Society was held at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street; Mr. W. M'Arthur, M.P., in the chair. The chairman, in opening the proceedings, said that the institution had been founded for the purpose of protecting the rights of native races, especially in the British empire. The present state of the Slave-trade on the East Coast of Africa, he was sorry to say, was very large. The Sultan of Zanzibar had entered into a treaty with the British Government to put down the Slave-trade within certain limits; but beyond those limits the trade had been permitted. It was most unfortunate that this should be the case. He contended that this was merely winking at the traffic. In Zanzibar every year two or three hundred thousand of the natives perished by this Slave-trade. He urged that it was the duty of the Government to put down this state of things. Notwithstanding the large amount of money which was given to support their squadrons the trade was, to a certain extent, winked at. He wished to call their attention to the traffic that was carried on in Western Polynesia—kidnapping the natives. The attention of the House of Commons had been drawn to the subject. It was a notorious fact that British seamen were employed in this trade, and as a nation it was their duty to put it down. They had been called upon to interfere on behalf of those who had no one to protect them, and he was glad to say this country was never backward in such things. Sir J. Alexander moved the adoption of the report. The meeting was also addressed by Mr. S. Gurney, Professor Amos, Mr. Edward Jenkins, Mr. Edmund Sturge, Dr. Humphrey Sandwith, C.B., and Mr. R. N. Fowler, M.P., the latter of whom moved a resolution referring in condemnatory terms to the Slavery system practised in the South Sea Islands. It was supported by Sir James Anderson, the American General M'Mahon, &c.

FREEDMEN'S COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE.

SLAVES AND FREEDMEN.

At a general meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, held at their offices, 27, New Broad Street, London, on the 4th of April last, a minute on the subject of Slavery in Brazil, Cuba, &c., was unanimously passed, and was transmitted, in accordance with its tenour, through our honorary secretary,

Joseph Cooper, Esq., to a large number of leading statesmen, legislators, and philanthropists in the United States of America. From a large number of valuable replies we select two for insertion, those of Mr. Secretary Boutwell and Mr. Senator Pomeroy. We furnish also copies of the minute and of Mr. Cooper's accompanying letter. We trust that our numerous readers in Spain, Brazil, &c., may, with ourselves, cherish and express our devout gratitude for the results of freedom in America, and offer our earnest prayers that speedily the negroes of Brazil, Cuba, Porto Rico, &c., may rejoice in a kindred freedom of state and elevation of character.

COPY OF MINUTE.

"The continuance of Slavery in the Empire of Brazil, and in Cuba and Porto Rico, the dependencies of Spain, has at this time again occupied the serious and constant attention of the Committee; and, in the belief that the philanthropists of the United States of America, who laboured so long and so devotedly for the redemption of their own country from the sin and guilt of Slavery, might render essential service to the cause of justice and liberty in those countries where Slavery still exists, this Committee respectfully commands the subject to their most earnest and serious attention. The Committee directs that a copy of this minute be sent to the principal Abolitionists in the United States."

COPY OF MR. COOPER'S LETTER.

*Essex Hall, Walthamstow,
Fourth Month 18, 1871.*

DEAR FRIEND,—At the request of the Anti-Slavery Committee, I take the liberty to enclose a copy of a minute passed at its last meeting, and respectfully but earnestly to solicit for it that careful attention which the importance of the subject demands.

A good deal of correspondence with the friends of freedom in Spain and Brazil has impressed the Committee with the conviction that the moral influence of the United States in favour of the abolition of Slavery would be of essential service at the present time, and would be highly appreciated by the philanthropists of both those countries. No nation can speak with more effect of the evils of Slavery, and the fearful consequences of justice too long deferred, than your great Republic. On the other hand, we rejoice to know that you can now speak from experience of the beneficial effects of complete emancipation, and also of the signal success with which your great and noble efforts to educate and elevate the Freedmen has been so remarkably blessed.

We quite believe much good might be effected, if the moral influence of those in authority in your country were exercised at the present time in favour of emancipation.

We are also strongly impressed with the conviction that much might be done by addresses to the governments and peoples of Spain and Brazil from some of your Societies, Churches, and other organised bodies.

In any action you may deem it proper to take, it seems scarcely necessary to say that if there is any assistance we can give to promote the carrying out of your views, we shall be most glad to render it.

As to our own Government, we do not cease to endeavour to influence them to the utmost of our power.

A line at any time, informing us of any action you take, will very much oblige the Committee.

I am, with much respect,
JOSEPH COOPER.

[REPLIES.]

"TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
"Office of the Secretary,
"Washington, June 2, 1871.

"SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your esteemed favour of the 24th of April last, with enclosure of Minutes of the proceedings of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, relative to Slavery in the Empire of Brazil and the Dependencies of Spain.

"The removal of Slavery from the territory of the United States is not only a great moral and political success, but it is proving of signal consequence in an industrial point of view. The former slaves are already showing a capacity for labour and business not heretofore asserted in their behalf by their most ardent friends; and the time is not distant when the production of cotton and sugar will far exceed the results of slave-labour.

"Nor can it be denied that the former slaves accept and enter upon the duties of citizenship in a manner which dispels all doubt as to their good purposes and real capacity. The efforts now making in the work of popular education among them, will place the next generation upon a firm foundation in all things essential to the full discharge of the duties of citizens.

"This experience in America places the whole question of freedom upon a higher ground than it has ever before attained, and henceforth the influence of America will be felt not only in the abolition of Slavery in the countries where it yet exists, but also in the removal of every form of political inequality among people living under the same government.

"I have the honour to be, with great respect,

"Your most obedient servant,
"GEO. S. BOUTWELL.

"To JOSEPH COOPER, Esq.,
"Essex Hall, Walthamstow, England."

"United States Senate Chamber,
"Washington, May 22nd, 1871.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I am in the receipt of your letter, and copy of address, &c., of the 18th of last month, and beg leave to thank you, in the name of all the Abolitionists in this country, for those earnest and faithful words spoken into the ears of the two remaining slave-holding Governments of the world, whom we may hopefully reach, viz.—Spain and Brazil.

"The success of emancipation in the United States has been such as to encourage every Anti-Slavery effort that we can make for emancipation everywhere; and you cannot realise, as we do, how grateful to God we should be that we had but *thirty years* of labour and effort to secure so grand a result.

"The centuries of human slavery here were succeeded by a *short* but terrible struggle, and the *word* and *deed* of emancipation came—both together!! And any word or deed that we can speak or do for the cause, in other lands, shall be gladly spoken and done.

"Emancipation is of course the only right thing; and because it's right, it's safe, it's expedient, and it's just.

"How gladly we have followed the improvement and elevation of the coloured people in this land since their emancipation, as evinced by their education in schools and their accumulation of money in banks. I am watching their advancement, not only in the common schools, where the first ordinary branches of learning are acquired, but in the *higher seminaries*, where their progress and attainments are not surpassed by any young persons of any nation under heaven. They will soon, in this country, enter the learned professions, and achieve distinction in them; at which time, and only then, our triumphs will be complete. God speed the day of this achievement in every land!

"I inclose you a report of the Freedmen's Bank here, and also a catalogue of Howard University, as illustrating what I have hinted about; and with sentiments of the highest esteem,—I am, &c.,

"S. C. POMEROY.

"JOSEPH COOPER, Esq.,
"Anti-Slavery Committee, &c. &c."

"Senate House, Washington, D. C.

"SIR,—I now forward you a letter, showing more fully the industry of the coloured people since emancipation. I intended to have enclosed it in my last, but I send it in a separate envelope.

"Truly, &c.,

"S. C. POMEROY.

"JOSEPH COOPER, Esq.,
"Essex Hall, Walthamstow."

"National Freedman's Savings and Trust Company, Washington, D. C.
"May 20, 1871.

"Hon. S. C. Pomeroy, U.S. Senator.

"DEAR SIR,—It has afforded me great pleasure to send you the documents you were so kind as to ask for touching the work of this Company. Through your own and the influence of other gentlemen in Congress who have faith in humanity, this great work was begun. From the feeblest it has now grown to be an institution of considerable strength, so as to attract attention from the good in all civilised lands.

"There are some facts which can hardly be brought out by statistics in full force. Such are the efforts of the poor to place themselves in a material condition where they can lead virtuous lives; for to us, who have a competence, it is much easier to be virtuous, and kind, and respectable, than to those.

"In the six years which have elapsed since this Company was organised, more than 20 millions of dollars have passed through its books. I think that eighteen of those have been the earnings of the blacks. Considering the vast population on which we *ought* to act, this is not a great deal; but is it not really *something* to be thankful for, that this people—*some* of them, at least—so long imbruted, so long left to the shambles and the auction-block, have so readily looked out into the opening vistas of the better life which liberty had opened before them? Who would have believed ten years ago that in the city of Charleston to-day there would be a savings bank owned exclusively by the despised helot or pariah of that city, with a quarter million of dollars to their credit? Behind its counter a man once a slave sits at their Board, and speaks, and acts, and writes intelligently in reference to its funds and its interests.

"At Tallahassee, the capital of Florida, this Company owns and occupies the State bank building. A coloured man is our cashier there.

"In the city of Jacksonville, Florida, through our branch agency, a major portion of the exchanges of the whole population is made. We have built there, this year, a fine building, costing 30,000 dols., in which is our bank, the balance of the building yielding us a handsome interest in rents. The leading man in the local advising board, Mr. Spearing, was a slave until our Emancipation Act.

"We have fifteen coloured cashiers, about one-half of all our force. Our clerks, too, are largely of that race, and are becoming very trusty and capable. I am of the opinion that in no enterprise undertaken since the war has there been more marked or gratifying progress.

"The building now in process of erection in this city has, of course, attracted your attention. It is a credit to the Company, and an ornament to the city, and promises to become one of the best investments yet made by us.

"The increase in our business for the two first months in our fiscal year, commencing with March, 1871, will appear from the following figures—comparison with the corresponding months in 1870:—

	dols.
Deposits in March 797,034.26
" " April 562,668.26
Total for two months	... 1,359,634.52
1871.	
Deposits for March 1,038,870.14
" " April 752,426.24
	<hr/> 1,791,296.38

Increase for 1871 431,627.86

"This ratio of increase has been kept good thus far in the month of May.

"Very respectfully,
"D. L. EATON, Actuary."

GENERAL HOWARD AND THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU.

We have received from the Rev. S. J. May, of Leicester, Massachusetts—a faithful friend of the Negro, whose deeply interesting "Recollections of the Anti-Slavery Conflict" we have read with much pleasure—a pamphlet containing a report of a debate in the House of Representatives, on the 23rd February, 1871, on "The Deficiency Appropriation Bill," when the Hon. Fernando Wood, of New York, moved to amend by striking out the following item:—"For support of Freedmen's Hospital and Asylum at Washington, District of Columbia, 5,000 dollars."

[Mr. Wood and Mr. McNeely, of Illinois, addressed the House in favour of the amendment, charging the officers of the Freedmen's Bureau with violation of law, and plundering the public treasury. The Hon. G. F. Hoar, of Massachusetts; the Hon. W. Townsend, of Pennsylvania; the Hon. J. A. Peters, of Maine; and the Hon. J. P. Shanks, of Indiana, took part in the debate, and most triumphantly vindicated General Howard from the wild and bitter accusations brought against him. At the close, the following resolution was passed by a vote of 134 ayes to 52 noes:—

"Resolved,—That the policy pursued by the United States towards four and a half millions of its people, suddenly enfranchised by the events of a great civil war, in seeking to provide for their education, to render

them independent and self-supporting, and in extending to them civil and political equality, is a source of just national pride; and the House hereby acquits Major-General Oliver O. Howard of the groundless and causeless charges basely preferred against him; and does hereby declare and record its judgment, that in successfully organising and administering with fidelity, integrity, and ability, the Freedmen's Bureau, which has contributed so much to the accomplishment of the first two of these great ends, he is deserving of the gratitude of the American people."

In this estimate the many millions of friends of America, and friends of the Negro, in this country, will most heartily concur.—ED. A.-S. R.]

MR. ISAAC ROBSON, OF HUDDERSFIELD, ON THE FREEDMEN.

At the recent Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, held at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate Street, London, after the reading of various epistles from the United States of America, John Taylor alluded to the references in the epistles to the Freedmen, and expressed a hope that Isaac Robson, recently returned from a ministerial visit to the United States, would give some information concerning them.

"Isaac Robson was pleased that so much interest was taken in the subject. As time went on the wants of the Freedmen were increased rather than diminished, and the need for labour in the cause would not cease for many years to come. It would be difficult in a meeting like that to give full details, but perhaps one or other of the periodicals could find room for them. He then mentioned some facts showing the rapid rise in the circumstances of many of the Freedmen. They were now chiefly cultivators of the land, and gave their landlords one-third of the produce. The vice of whisky-drinking, he was sorry to say, was on the increase, among both blacks and whites, and, if not checked, would prove most disastrous to their prospects. At the school the Freedmen showed no inferiority to the white students. In mathematics, for example, the Freedmen had attained a proficiency equal to, if not beyond, the average attainment of the whites. At a training-school at Philadelphia which he had visited, the principal and teachers were all coloured people. Many of the planters now confessed that their crops were better attended to, and greater prosperity was the result since the emancipation of the blacks. Other planters, however, not having yet recovered from the ruin which had befallen them at the time of the civil war, had not at present experienced the benefit of the change which, sooner or later, must eventually be felt. When Friends bore in mind that the number of the

Freedmen amounted to four millions, they would see that there was still much work to be done. Isaac Robson also alluded to the fact that several of the Freedmen had become members of the Society of Friends. In one meeting, near Helena, there were twenty-five coloured members, one of whom was a valued recorded minister."—*The Friend.*

ANOTHER ESTIMATE OF THE NEGRO.

(From the *New York Tribune.*)

AN INTERVIEW WITH JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Columbia, S.C., May 25.

JEFFERSON DAVIS arrived here on Tuesday on business connected with the life insurance company of which he is president. I was introduced to him yesterday in a lawyer's office, where he was holding an informal reception, and had a half-hour's conversation.

Mr. Davis carefully avoided politics during the conversation, saying that he did not desire that publicity should be given to his opinions on political subjects. There was some talk about the present condition of the negroes, and he expressed the opinion, which appears to be generally entertained by thoughtful and observant Southern men, that the black race in the United States is diminishing in numbers and will ultimately disappear. He said that the negroes did not give proper care to their young children and to their sick, and now that the whites had no interest in caring for them they were dying rapidly. He thought that ultimate extinction was the inevitable fate of the race. I asked if he thought there was any tendency among the negroes of the more Northern of the former Slave States to emigrate to the Gulf States. He did not believe there was. A number of negroes had been brought into Mississippi from North Carolina and other States, by the agents of large planters, but the movement did not originate with the blacks. Those who would be benefited by emigration were too ignorant and too poor to move, and the more intelligent were doing well where they were, and had no object to leave their homes. Mr. Davis told of one of his former slaves, a man "as black as the ten of spades," who had bought two plantations in Mississippi, one of Mr. Davis, and one of his brother, from which he had sold 2,100 bales of cotton last year. He wrote a good hand, kept accounts well, and had his agents in St. Louis, who did not suspect they were dealing with a black man. Such instances of business talent among the negroes Mr. Davis thought were very rare. As a rule they had shown no ability to accumulate property.

THE American Missionary Association has expended two and a quarter millions of dollars among the Freedmen in ten years.

THE COTTON CROP, 1870—71.

THE weekly cotton receipts of the Southern ports are declining, as is usual at this season of the year, but they are still largely in excess of the receipts at the corresponding period last year. For the last week reported, that ending June 2, they were 36,402 bales, an excess of 13,961 bales over the receipts of the corresponding week of 1870. For the current cotton year the receipts to that date have been 3,792,269 bales, compared with 2,772,432 bales for the corresponding period of 1869-70. The exports for the two periods were respectively 2,944,177 bales in 1870-71, and 1,969,593 bales in 1869-70.—*Times Correspondent.*

THE UNITED STATES.—FREE AND EX-SLAVE STATES.

THE *New York Tribune* Almanac for 1871, contains a table of immigration for 51 years, in which the immigrants are divided into nationalities, and the numbers in each year are given, together with the avowed destination of emigrants landed at Castle Garden, from August 1, 1855, to January 1, 1870, being 2,340,928 passengers, of these 224,880 settled in Pennsylvania; 213,315 in Illinois; 121,660 in Wisconsin; 111,129 in Massachusetts; 120,418 in Ohio; 8,235 in Virginia; 1,854 in South Carolina; 1,623 in Georgia; 784 in North Carolina; 577 in Alabama; 172 in West Virginia—thus proving that Slave-States will not, cannot, attract free emigrants. When will pro-Slavery men learn that free men will not willingly settle in Slave-States, or where men favour slavery?

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION.

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE FREEDMEN.

	£	s.	d.
W. H. Leatham, Esq.	2	2	0
Mrs. Henry Ford, per W. Allen, Esq.	1	0	0
Per Messrs. Morgan & Chase	1	0	0
Augustus Landon, Esq., London ...	0	5	0

CUBA AND SPANISH ALTERNATIVES.

(From the *Pall Mall Gazette*.)

SHOULD there come a respite from troubles nearer home, the attention of the British public may perhaps be turned to the island of Cuba, where for the last three years a revolution has been going on which has involved the sacrifice of some 30,000 lives, and the destruction of an incalculable amount of property. So little interest in this struggle is felt in England that it is almost necessary to say that the Cubans are fighting for the right of self-government and the immediate abolition of Slavery. What is called the Patriot Government has now the control over two-thirds of the island; but the struggle between the Spanish authorities and the successful Republicans is still maintained; nor does there seem to be any immediate prospect of its termination. It is true that King Amadeus, in his recent speech to the Cortes, stated that "he indulges in the flattering hope of the prompt pacification of the island of Cuba," yet there is no talk of any concession to the demands of the Cubans, and without this there can be no solution of the quarrel. In a military point of view the belligerents occupy much the same relative positions as they did two years ago, but meanwhile the Cubans have been daily learning more of the art of war and the spirit of endurance, and have on their side all the advantages which spring from a thorough knowledge of the country and habituation to its trying climate. The Spaniards, on the other hand, can ill afford to spare the 15,000 men they have lost in the struggle, and are feeling very sensibly the effects of financial embarrassment. Cannot something be done in the way of friendly intervention, to terminate this sad state of affairs? The sale of the island to the United States has been again and again proposed, but, as the patriotic press declares, "Spain has no right to sell the Cuban people, and the United States cannot buy without a denial of the underlying principle of Republicanism." A hint has been thrown out by Colonel Macias, which is at any rate worthy of consideration. He suggests that if Spain wants money, and is willing to sell her uncertain rights, Cuba itself will buy them. The country would infinitely prefer to redeem itself with gold than by the sacrifice of further life, and can well afford to give the sum demanded, and furnish ample guarantees for its payment. "This," he adds, "is the sole solution of the Cuban question as it now presents itself, by which Spain can save her honour, and at the same time replenish her treasury and preserve her share of the rich and growing commerce of her lost colony."